

FRENCH CULTURAL DIPLOMACY TOWARDS KENYA; 1958-2020

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DECLARATION

This research thesis is my original work that has not been presented in any learning institution for the award of a degree.

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DEDICATION

To my wife Catherine Nduta and children, Victor Opande, Jayden Mucacu and Ella Akoth. I equally dedicate it to my late dad Daniel Onyango and late siblings, Pascaliah Atieno, James Ngere and father-in-law Moses Mucacu. I will be forever indebted for the faith they always had in me, with their encouragement and inspiration. I also dedicate this work to my lovely mother Elizabeth Akoth, who has supported me to the stage I have reached through her words of wisdom and prayers.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION	ii
DEDICATION	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS	v
ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS	ix
OPERATIONALIZATION OF KEY TERMS	xi
ABSTRACT	xii
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.2 Background to the Study.....	1
1.3 Statement of the Problem.....	9
1.4 Research Objectives.....	10
1.5 Research Questions	11
1.6 Research Premises	11
1.7 Justification and Significance of the Study.....	12
1.8 Scope and Limitation of the Study.....	13
1.8.1 Limitations of the Study	14
1.9 Review of Related Literature	15
1.9.1 Basis of Cultural Diplomacy among Nations.....	15
1.9.2 French Cultural Diplomacy Towards Africa.....	26
1.9.3 French Cultural Diplomacy towards Kenya.....	29
1.9.4 Emerging Gaps	31

1.9.5 Theoretical Framework	31
1.9.5.1 Decision Making Theory	31
1.9.5.2 Constructivism International Relations Theory	32
1.9.5.3 Soft Power Theory	32
1.9.5.3.1 Cultures	33
1.9.5.3.2 Political Values.....	34
1.9.5.3.3 Foreign Policies.....	34
1.9.6 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	35
1.9.6.1 Research Design.....	35
1.9.6.2 Location of Study.....	36
1.9.6.3 Target Population.....	36
1.9.6.4 Sampling Techniques and Sample Size	37
1.9.6.5 Research Instruments	37
1.9.6.6 Validity and Reliability.....	38
1.9.6.7 Data Analysis and Presentation	38
1.9.6.8 Ethical Considerations	38
CHAPTER TWO: DEVELOPMENT OF FRENCH CULTURAL DIPLOMACY	
TOWARDS AFRICA SINCE 1958	40
2.1 Introduction.....	40
2.2 Background to French Cultural Diplomacy in Africa.....	40
2.3 Culture and Diplomacy in Francophone Africa.....	44
2.4 French Cultural Diplomacy in Anglophone Africa	52
2.5 Summary	62

CHAPTER THREE: FRENCH CULTURAL DIPLOMACY TOWARDS

KENYA; 1963-1995	64
3.1 Introduction.....	64
3.2 Background to French Cultural Diplomacy Towards Kenya	64
3.3 Agents of French Cultural Diplomacy in Kenya	68
3.3.1 French Political Leaders and Jomo Kenyatta Government; 1963-1978.....	68
3.3.2 Francois Mitterrand Regime and the Daniel Moi Regime	70
3.4 Pillars of French Cultural Diplomacy Towards Kenya.....	71
3.5 Instruments of French Cultural Policy Towards Kenya	77
3.5.1 Exchange Programmes	77
3.5.2 Annual-African Summits	80
3.5.3 Kenya's Domestic Politics	80
3.6 Summary	82

CHAPTER FOUR: STRATEGIES IN FRENCH CULTURAL DIPLOMACY

TOWARDS KENYA 1995-2020	83
4.1 Introduction.....	83
4.1.1 Jacques Chirac Regime and Daniel Moi regimes and their Impact on French Cultural Diplomacy towards Kenya.....	84
4.1.2 Nicholas Sarkozy, Francois Hollande, and Mwai Kibaki Regimes and their Impact on French Cultural Diplomacy towards Kenya	88
4.1.3 Francois Hollande, Emanuel Macron Regimes and Uhuru Kenyatta Regime .	98
4.2 Education as a tool of French Cultural Diplomacy Towards Kenya	112
4.2.1 Alliance Francoise	118

4.2.2 Kenya Association of Teachers of French (KATF)	119
4.2.3 French Language	120
4.3 Cultural Activities and French Cultural Diplomacy towards Kenya	128
4.4 Media, Cuisine, Recreation, and Beauty Products.....	132
4.5 Summary	137
CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION, AND	
RECOMMENDATION	138
5.1 Introduction.....	138
5.2 Summary of Findings and Conclusion.....	138
5.2.1 Summary of Findings	138
5.2.2 Conclusions	141
5.3 Recommendation	149
5.4 Areas of Further Research	150
REFERENCES	152
APPENDICES	170
Appendix 1: Questionnaire	170
Appendix 2: Interview Guide for Key Informants.....	172
Appendix 3: Focus Group Discussion Guide for Selected Beneficiaries of French Educational Scholarships	173
Appendix 4: Focus Group Discussion Guide for Selected Officers in Ministry of Foreign Affairs And French Embassy Cultural Affairs Department	174
Appendix 5: List of Key Informants.....	175
Appendix 6: Research Authorization Letters.....	176

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ADF	:	Agence Francaise de Development
AFE	:	Agency for French Education
AFSHE	:	Armed Forces School of Higher Education
AU	:	African Union
AUF	:	University Agency of Francophony
CACS	:	Cultural Affairs and Cooperation Services
CD	:	Cultural diplomacy
CFI	:	Canal France International
CFTD	:	Centre for French Teaching and Documentation
CIRD	:	Cultural Institute Research and Development
CUE	:	Commission for University Education
DCAC	:	Department for Cultural Action and Cooperation
DGCID	:	Direction Generale de la Cooperation International
EC	:	European Commission
EU	:	European Union
FGDs	:	Focus Group Discussions
GoK	:	Government of Kenya
IFRA	:	The French Institute for Research in Africa
IFTF	:	International Federation of Teachers of French
IRD	:	Research Institute for Development
KFCB	:	Kenya Film Classification Board

KFTA	:	Kenya French Teachers Association
KICD	:	Kenya Institute for Curriculum and Development
MEAE	:	Ministry of Europe and Foreign Affairs
MFA	:	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MoHEST	:	Ministry of Higher Education, Science, and Technology
MSCH	:	Ministry of Sport, Culture, and Heritage
NWCPC	:	National Water Conservation and Pipeline Corporation
PSFFC	:	Prioritized Solidarity Fund for the French Language
RFI	:	Radio France International
SFD	:	Social Fund Development
UK	:	United Kingdom
UNESCO	:	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
US	:	United States
VoA	:	Voice of America

OPERATIONALIZATION OF KEY TERMS

Bilateral Cultural cooperation refers to adopting a common unique brand for other foreign nations as the main goal for cultural diplomacy while employing collaboration and exchanges as a key approach in cross-cultural ties.

Cultural diplomacy is the exchange of ideas, information, values, systems, traditions, and beliefs with the intention of promoting mutual understanding. It consists of teaching language, exchanges of students, teachers, scientists, films, songs, exhibitions, concerts, and other activities with a cultural intention.

Foreign policy refers to a government's objectives and intentions to secure its national interest in recipient countries. This could also refer to general objectives that guide the activities and relationships of one state in its interaction with other states.

Positive image is the effort adopted by a government or regime to package or brand a state so as to advance its political, economic and cultural diplomacy.

Soft power refers to a diplomatic approach used to influence and foster attraction to French cultural aspects. It is a form of national power based on ideational and cultural attractiveness that actors utilize in international relations to achieve strategic imperatives.

ABSTRACT

Cultural diplomacy has become a popular discipline of study in international relations in the post-cold war period. France has a record of accomplishment in its cultural diplomatic engagements since the 19th century. This study contributes to the growing literature on cultural diplomacy in international relations by discussing the French Cultural diplomacy towards Kenya, 1958-2020. The objectives of the study were to evaluate the basis adopted by France in her cultural diplomacy in Africa since 1958, to examine the issues that shaped the evolution of French cultural diplomacy towards Kenya from 1963-1994, to analyse the strategies adopted by France in her cultural diplomacy towards Kenya, 1995-2020. The study used soft power and constructivism theories in international relations to discuss the research findings. This study was premised on the assumption that state actors and non-state actors were the dominant agents that promoted French cultural diplomacy in Africa in general and Kenya in particular. The study justification was based on the argument that there is scanty knowledge of French cultural diplomacy in Kenya. The significance of the study was to demonstrate that cultural diplomacy is an effective soft power tool to advance a nation's political, economic, and social hegemony. This study used a descriptive and exploratory methodological design. The study employed primary and secondary sources of data. Purposive sampling was used in selecting respondents who participated in the oral interviews and focus group discussions. The researcher observed all ethical considerations. This study established that France used several strategies to institutionalize cultural diplomacy in Kenya. The strategies included; the popularisation of the French language, provision of education to Kenyans in France, exchange programmes targeting different interest groups, development of French electronic and print media in Kenya, promotion of French cuisine, beauty products, and recreational facilities in Kenya and signing of bilateral agreements between France and Kenya. Finally, the study observed that French cultural diplomacy towards Africa in general and Kenya, in particular, created an enabling environment for France to venture into various infrastructural and other business enterprises in the African continent. Thus, cultural diplomacy was a handmaiden of French soft power in Africa.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This chapter contains the study background, contextualizes the problem statement, research objectives, the guiding research questions, scope and limitations, assumptions of the research, and the study justification and significance. It further interrogates related literature and theoretical framework.

1.2 Background to the Study

Most states' foreign policies contextualize cultural diplomacy as those actions of liaison between governments and people in promoting national interests through culture abroad, which is undertaken as soft power (Berridge & James, 2001). However, it is perceived as a lesser diplomatic engagement with benefits that are not easy to assess and unreliable (Cultural diplomacy at a crossroads, 2019). Usually, various nations have a stereotypical idea of Cultural Diplomacy, which is always viewed as a friendly face of foreign policy.

As a subset of soft power, Nye argues that:

Cultural diplomacy is the best example of the so-called soft power, the possibility of communicating via the conduit of culture, values, and ideas, which contrasts with hard power, one that uses military instruments.

According to Finn (2003), cultural diplomacy seeks to transmit the attractiveness of a given culture, values, political ideologies, and substance of a given nation's policy. Most diplomacy scholars acknowledge that there is no agreeable definition of Cultural Diplomacy and what it entails; therefore, it means different things to different people (Gienow-Hecht & Donfried, 2010).

Cultural diplomacy is often positioned as the largest sub-area of public diplomacy. The general connotations of cultural diplomacy can be summed up as follows: to promote mutual understanding among the peoples of the world; to win over the hearts and minds of others; to tell a nation's story to the rest of the world. Cultural diplomacy is established specifically through artistic and intellectual resources and activities, aiming to project a positive image to the world (Goff, 2017). Still, others perceive cultural diplomacy as the same as soft power (Nye, 2011).

According to Ang (2018), cultural diplomacy is both a process of: regulation and support used for social or economic purposes of culture by the state; and how the state chooses to represent itself through self-promotion, culture being the main focus. Cultural Diplomacy, therefore, refers to the strategy and the means used when promoting culture and is closely related to the notion of identity. J. Nye Jr. mooted the concept of 'soft power' regarding the cultural appeal and ideological influence one nation has over another. This soft power is employed to obtain the desired results through cultural and charismatic persuasion as opposed to coercion. He further argues that soft power under cultural diplomacy manifests itself best when the nation applying it can persuade recipient nations to support a specific ideological and economic persuasion in international politics (Nye, 2013). Nye asserts that soft power is the ability to attract and co-opt rather than coerce or use force in international relations. Cultural exchanges and collaborations are an integral part of this process.

Cultural Diplomacy, in terms of the post-structural theory of International Relations, is perceived as a section of a foreign policy containing several critical issues that include:

corporate and state financing, which identifies the state's responsibility to protect her national culture abroad and the role of cultural industries. Spatiality, which readjusts cultural diplomacy based on the policy in question in terms of its geostrategic scale, which is global, regional and local. Instrumentality, which examines how the notion of culture is used in diplomatic practice; security which defines how a discourse of nationalism and security is moulded around culture; reception and agency where states are the critical agents mandated in promoting cultural diplomacy; and directionality, which identifies linkages in which national cultural interests with other countries are established (Ang, 2018; Mark, 2009).

Mark (2009) argues that Cultural Diplomacy relates closely to international cultural relations and public diplomacy and that it may be another form of propaganda. While cultural diplomacy is now considered conceptually and practically a sub-set of public diplomacy, it can be defined as a government's communication with foreign audiences to influence them positively. On this accord, in the 1920s, cultural diplomacy took centre space as government business. Subsequently, the process of the constitution of the "diplomatic system" of the European nation-states commenced.

Biehl et al. (2013) assert that foreign cultural policy provides a strategic approach to international cultural diplomacy. They note that a successful foreign cultural policy strategy must conjoin the work of various arts, cultural organizations and diplomatic bodies, government departments, and overseas missions, complying with the international instruments' framework.

France is regarded as the architect of modern-day cultural diplomacy. The French have always emphasized projecting their heritage, especially their language. In 1635, for instance, the Academy Française was created by Cardinal Richelieu to protect and spread the French language and culture (Marks & McCaffrey, 2002). This was the beginning of the institutionalization of cultural activities within the state. As regards to state relations, the 19th and 20th centuries realized the formation of institutions that would project cultural diplomacy abroad, for instance, the establishment of Alliance Française in 1883. The setting up of the British Council in 1934, the establishment of the Goethe Institute by Germany in 1951 and the setting up of the Dante Institute by Italy in 1889 among others. These institutions have been successfully promoting their country's cultures and languages abroad. Besides, it is fashionable today for European nations to set up cultural institutes alongside their embassies (King, 2007).

In Africa, cultural diplomacy was invented as part of the imperial strategies of France, Germany, and Britain and mastered by the United States (US) during the Cold War period. It still represents one of the greatest assets in the foreign policy arsenal of the European nations towards Africa (Leonard, 2002).

Cultural diplomacy portrays different faces depending on the period of engagement. For instance, after the French conquered francophone nations, they influenced their culture through a designed assimilation and association policy. They, for example, set up communes in Senegal. Upon independence of francophone African states, France only needed to maintain some small cultural diplomacy levels to emphasize her presence. This

was evident in Cameron, Morocco, Mali, Burkina Faso, and Ivory Coast (Mulcahy, 2016). A policy is known as strategic communication.

France has a long tradition of cultural diplomacy, which is practised on four essential principles: Increasing the efficiency of diplomatic activities with the help of government institutions; involving non-governmental organizations and the private sector; deliberate initiatives to arouse a strong interest in French political and cultural values to appeal to foreign audiences. Transforming the movement of Francophonie into an effective instrument to get influence internationally, through the promotion of French language and educational activities. France facilitates access to information about the country on the internet and other electronic and print media (Pranaityte, <http://dx.doi.org/10.7220>).

The cinema is a key tool in promoting French cultural diplomacy. The government of France levies a 10% tariff tax on American and other foreign films. The revenue from this tax is used to subsidize the French film industry. French film producers are eligible for aid in the form of an advance on their projected earnings. The government defends the French audio-visual industry from international competition to preserve the unique aspects of French identity and culture (Gordon, 2001).

France has concentrated her initiatives on exerting her soft power in Africa through cultural diplomacy. This was a deliberate initiative cultivated by General Charles De Gaulle, who became the first president of France's Fifth Republic in 1958. Initially, French cultural diplomacy was to be an avenue to maintain control over former African French colonies. Nonetheless, the French government made a concerted effort to spread

her soft power to African countries that were former colonies of Britain, Belgium, and Portugal.

According to Charbonneau (2016), the French international power and position have shaped the country's cultural diplomacy towards Africa. Charbonneau argues, "the model of French cultural diplomacy and its appealing nature under the 21st Century can be explained as resulting from the readiness of government officials to lay down long-term cultural goals, which at times seem to contain a limited connection with political aims of foreign policy". France's cultural diplomacy to recipient nations such as Kenya considers their willingness to skilfully include particular goals into political strategies while reacting to specific changing international trends and draws significant diplomatic rewards from reliable inter-cultural communication.

France plays an important role in international politics through international organizations such as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), where she primarily employs her cultural diplomacy with various states to advance her national interests. French artistic and diplomatic aims are spearheaded by diplomats working for the government's foreign ministry and those working for independent entities with various governance units and sometimes funded by French foreign ministries and embassies (Barder, 2010). France has consistently strategized to control the UNESCO and the European Union, which evolved from the European Economic Community. Immediately UNESCO was launched at the end of the Second World War, France deliberately positioned herself to influence the vision, mission, and objectives of this multilateral organization. French leadership succeeded in

convincing the other partners to locate the headquarters of UNESCO in Paris to mould the organization's development. Second, France successfully lobbied that the French language would be among the working languages in the UNESCO conferences and assemblies. France wanted to pattern UNESCO on the same principles as the pre-war Institut International de Cooperation Intellectuel (IICI), which had headquarters in Paris. The French wanted to have a strong representation of French experts in UNESCO to strengthen its bargaining power in the organization and subsequently advance her cultural diplomacy. While France pushed for a UNESCO whose focus was the development of culture, universal solidarity, and high intellectual standard, USA and Britain perceived UNESCO as an international organization that would promote global peace and welfare. In the formative years of French cultural diplomacy in Kenya, France was actively involved in providing funding for Kenyan scholars to attend UNESCO conferences and assemblies. France was heavily involved in the UNESCO project, which drafted the General History of Africa, where leading Kenyan historians such as Professors Bethwell Ogot and Henry Mwanzi contributed book chapters (Pendergast, 1976).

The law enacted in 2010 significantly enhanced French cultural diplomacy. The cultural cooperation actions aim to promote the French culture while contributing to enhancing cultural diversity as outlined by the UNESCO Convention on “the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions” in 2005. French artistic and diplomatic aims in the recipient states are disseminated through French alliances, institutes, cultural centres, cultural services, and specialized offices (Lane, 2013).

France, too had manipulated the European Union, which sprouted from the European Economic Community founded in 1957 when the Rome Treaty was ratified. France was heavily involved in defining and implementing a European development policy in Africa. This was a strategy to maintain French interests and influence over Africa while sharing the costs of such a policy with the other European member states. From 1958 to 1985, the head of the Directorate General, a key administrative organ of the European Union (EU), were French nationals. This included luminaries such as: Lemaignen, Bochereau, Denilau, Cheysoson, and Pisani, among others. French language had been the only medium in the European community and was only replaced by English in 1999 when a national took up the office of the Directorate Generale from Denmark. Like in UNESCO, France has tactfully pushed the EU to make policy guidelines that require member states to ensure that at least two foreign languages are taught and examined at the high school level.

Similarly, there is a provision for language translation support services in all EU meetings. This basically aims at promoting the French language. The EU represents the deliberate use of culture in external relations to support foreign policy objectives based on agents' activities (Sakaev, 2019).

France embarked on cultural diplomacy in Anglophone Africa, including South Africa, Ghana, Nigeria, Zimbabwe, Kenya, Zambia, and Lesotho in the post-Second World War era. Although some scholars like Biehl (2003) Giegerich (2003) and Jonas (2010) have argued that cultural diplomacy is an extension of Africa's European neo-colonialism strategy, others like Lane (2013) and Nisbett (2013) have asserted that cultural diplomacy

in Africa is helpful as soft power since it creates international cooperation and understanding between fragmented African republics worldwide (Belfiore, 2016).

According to Beauclair (2003), French diplomacy is active in Kenya in its traditional typical bilateral dimension and in the field of cultural, multilateral, and regional diplomacy. On the other hand, Kenya has played host to various diplomatic missions, cultural institutes, and governmental and non-governmental organizations that have been allowed to operate and advance their interests based on international diplomacy norms. France perceives Kenya as a critical partner within the diplomatic circles and has closely engaged her in areas of economic, political, and social-cultural cooperation. Against this background, this study takes up Kenya as a recipient state to the activities of French cultural diplomacy.

Rajab (2019), on the other hand, falls short in examining Franco-Kenya cultural relations; his research is mostly one way, without the element of cultural cooperation. As Mark (2009) defines it, cultural cooperation is a two-way bilateral engagement based on the interchange of goals, information, art, and other intangible aspects of culture amongst states and their citizens to promote mutual understanding.

This study is part of increasing scholarly research on French cultural diplomacy in former British African colonies. It examines French cultural diplomacy towards Kenya.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

Cultural diplomacy has created a niche in international relations as an emerging area of research in the last three decades. France has perfected the use of cultural diplomacy in

pushing her hegemony globally. Whereas enormous research exists on French cultural diplomacy in former Francophone African countries, minimal research has been conducted on France cultural diplomacy in former Anglophone countries. Yet, France has intensified her cultural diplomacy in countries that were initially colonized by Britain. There is definitely a knowledge gap on the development and impact of French cultural diplomacy towards former Anglophone countries and specifically French cultural diplomacy towards Kenya. Research on cultural diplomacy is based on north-north relations instead of north-south relations.

In contrast, the north-south cultural and diplomatic ties have been under-researched. Studies have been done on French cultural diplomacy; however, these studies have focused mostly on former French colonies. Besides, in the studies done on a few no francophone countries like Nigeria and Ghana, only one aspect of cultural diplomacy was focused on (King, 2007). This study addressed this knowledge gap by assessing the basis of French cultural diplomacy towards Africa since 1958 and at the same time examining the issues that shaped the evolution of French cultural diplomacy towards Kenya, 1963-1994, and finally discussing strategies adopted by France to actualize her cultural diplomacy towards Kenya, 1995-2020.

1.4 Research Objectives

The main objective of this study was to examine French cultural diplomacy in Kenya from 1958 to 2020.

The specific objectives adopted were:

- i. To evaluate the basis of France's cultural diplomacy towards Africa since 1958.

- ii. To examine the issues that shaped the evolution of French cultural diplomacy towards Kenya in the period 1963-1994.
- iii. To analyse the strategies adopted by France in her cultural diplomacy towards Kenya in the period 1995-2020

1.5 Research Questions

The following research questions guided this study:

- i. How did France operationalize her cultural diplomacy towards Africa since 1958?
- ii. Which are the issues that defined the evolution of French cultural diplomacy towards Kenya in the period 1963-1994?
- iii. How did France adopt the various strategies in enhancing her cultural diplomacy towards Kenya, 1995-2020?

1.6 Research Premises

This study adopted and utilized the following assumptions:

- i. France had a strong basis on which she established cultural diplomacy towards Africa since 1958.
- ii. France had concrete issues on which she nurtured her cultural diplomacy towards Kenya, 1963 - 1994.
- iii. France adopted various strategies in her pursuit of cultural diplomacy towards Kenya, 1995-2020.

1.7 Justification and Significance of the Study

Cultural diplomacy is an emerging scholarly area in international relations. Therefore, this study was necessary since it aimed to expand the understanding of French diplomatic activities in Kenya, including economic and geopolitical ties, and acknowledge the use of the soft power of cultural diplomacy in advancing her foreign policy. Owing to the realization that limited study on cultural diplomacy has been done in Kenya, it's justified to explore its contribution to the broader field of diplomacy. In addition, cultural diplomacy has gained relevance in the last decade; thus, all the notions deriving from the use of culture in international relations should be researched more in-depth to provide a more comprehensive understanding and practical use of cultural diplomacy.

This study is also significant since it adds to the scholarly literature on international relations, especially in understanding soft power by a core state on a periphery state as each pursues its national interests. Hence, this study may be used as reference material. The research seeks to bring cultural diplomacy to the centre of diplomatic debates. The study will also help foreign policy formulators develop necessary cultural and diplomatic policies to help their countries advance their national interests. This study is significant since the Kenyan government may use it to re-evaluate diplomatic relations between Kenya and France and therefore act by strengthening mutual benefit areas while putting up measures to correct areas of foreign cultural and diplomatic activities that may affect the national interest of the Kenyan people.

This study departed from other cultural diplomacy research between Britain and Kenya or America and Kenya since the two cases share an Anglophone history. It focused on

relations between France and a former Anglophone nation. This study further postulated that there was a need to provide empirical evidence on France cultural diplomacy in Kenya since some levels of cultural diplomacy are employed but with limited scholarly evidence.

1.8 Scope and Limitation of the Study

This study covered the period 1958 to 2020. The year 1958 was chosen as a starting point because it was when the fifth French Republic was established in France. The fifth republic laid the policy and legal framework on which French cultural diplomacy was directed in Africa and the rest of the international community. The leadership of the Fifth Republic designed the form and substance of French cultural diplomacy towards Kenya. The year 2020 marks a turning point in French cultural diplomacy in the sense that Emanuel Macron, the President of France, physically came to Kenya and, together with his counterpart, opened a new chapter in French cultural, economic, and political diplomacy towards Kenya. This period was justified because of the policies and legal framework that France put in place during the post-second world war era to rebrand herself after coming out of the war very devastated.

This period also witnessed the consistent initiatives by France to diversify her cultural diplomacy from her traditional Francophone African nations to other African countries that were former colonies of Britain, Belgium, and Portugal. The study focused on two countries, namely; France and Kenya, and not any other. France is renowned for having a track record in cultural diplomacy, and Kenya is one of the very few countries among former colonies of Britain which has attracted intensive cultural diplomacy from France

since its independence. This study was confined to the critical theories of international relations, which have gained momentum towards the turn of the 21st century.

The geographical scope of the study was Nairobi City County. The City is a host of the French Embassy, headquarters of French organizations and institutions, as well as the relevant department of the government of Kenya, specifically, the directorate of cultural diplomacy at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Directorate of Culture at the Ministry of Sports, Culture, and Heritage. Besides, Nairobi is a centre of cultural interactions, with a cosmopolitan elite population. Thematically, the study only focused on soft power aspects of Franco-Kenya diplomatic relations.

1.8.1 Limitations of the Study

There were difficulties encountered in securing classified information that defines Franco-Kenya relations due to its sensitivity. Therefore, the researcher informed respondents of the aim of the research, which was mainly for academic purposes, and further, the confidentiality of the information provided was guaranteed. In addition, some of the classified information was purely written in the French language; therefore, the researcher employed a translator. It was also challenging to find the sampled groups on time, and hence it took too long to collect data. Research assistants familiar with the geographical locations were utilized to save time and help overcome the language barrier challenge.

1.9 Review of Related Literature

The literature review was organized based on the objectives of the thesis. The first section examined the basis of cultural diplomacy among nations, the next section examined French cultural diplomacy towards Africa, and the last section discussed French cultural diplomacy towards Kenya.

1.9.1 Basis of Cultural Diplomacy among Nations

Cultural diplomacy has become a popular process of influencing hegemony by developed and newly industrializing nations over Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Developed countries such as the United States of America, Britain, Germany, and France have perfected the art of cultural diplomacy in the post-second world war period. Emerging powers that include China, Brazil, South Africa, India, and South Korea, just to name a few, have followed the path of developed nations to lay strong foundations of cultural diplomacy. African states like Nigeria, Senegal, Ghana, Egypt, Cameroon, Botswana, and Kenya have embraced cultural diplomacy as a tool to enhance their international prestige and cooperation.

Following the abandonment of secret diplomacy, most states in Europe, Asia, and the Americas have increasingly used cultural diplomacy to boost their global positioning. Although cultural diplomacy connoted propaganda machinery during the 1st and 2nd world wars and the interwar period the diverse models of direct cultural diplomacy became consolidated with the new world order, making states cardinal players in cultural matters abroad (Cooper et al., 2013).

Germany has been proactive in expanding her cultural diplomacy in Africa by using education as a potent tool to exercise its hegemony in Africa. Germany has established schools, institutes, foundations, research organizations, and academic exchange programs as strategies of advancing her cultural diplomacy. The Academic Exchange Service DAAD is a critical agency of Germany's cultural diplomacy. DAAD has more than sixty offices worldwide, with a very strong presence in most African states. There are many schools in African countries that the German government funds. The objectives of these schools are to spread the German culture, provide education to children of German nationals living in Africa, and meet the educational needs of children of African elites. These schools also promote the German language in Africa and sensitize African students to consider Germany as the most preferred destination for university education and professional training (Juan, 2013).

Germany funds many foundations in Africa whose objectives are to promote education, human rights, democracy, peace building, development and international understanding. Among these foundations, include: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, Friedrich Naumann Stiftung, Hans Seidel Stiftung and Heinrich Stiftung (op.cit).

The Goethe Institute remains a decisive actor in Germany's cultural diplomacy in Africa. This Institute is an excellent centre for disseminating German culture and language. According to (Zöllner, 2020), various nations use cultural diplomacy to achieve multiple interests. For example, Germany's cultural diplomacy was wired to repair her tainted image after the world war period and equally boost her international profile after reunifying the east and west regions (ibid).

The United States of America has consistently nurtured cultural diplomacy in Africa since the post-second world war era. The United States Information Agency has had a major stake in promoting American cultural diplomacy. It does this through academic and cultural exchange programmes. The Fulbright Academic program has focused on sponsoring professional training for African students in America. After studies, these students return to Africa and promote the American culture, values, and ideals. The US government developed four key strategies to establish its government relations with the East African countries regarding the region. These included: the setting up of consular in the region, the setting up of a relief agency, stimulation of constructive contacts, and strengthening of the United States Information Service (USIS). The USIS was to cover a cultural program for the entire region. In addition, the government set up educational exchanges with Makerere College, today Makerere University in Uganda, and the New Royal College in Nairobi, today the University of Nairobi, Kenya, and other emerging educational institutions in the region. American visibility, specifically in Kenya, is traced to the 'Air lifts' coordinated by Tom Mboya, an African nationalist sponsored by American business people and the US government to facilitate Kenyan students' study in American universities (Okoth, 1984).

According to Arndt (2011), American cultural diplomacy aims to continue the hegemonic nature worldwide as a world economic superpower and an example of artistic excellence. New York City has been the centre of cultural diplomacy, providing the global Cultural Revolution in the nineties through digital technology, which established it as a global showroom where countries could showcase their cultural prestige. This is where the idea

of soft power emerged, in a form that serves as a benchmark for many countries' cultural diplomacies.

In Britain, cultural diplomacy, especially with her former colonies, aims to maintain cordial relations and close ties. Cultural diplomacy has deep roots in British traditions and has remained an essential tool in the United Kingdom's foreign policy. The British Council and the commonwealth are the major instruments that promote British cultural diplomacy policy.

In Spain, cultural diplomacy functioned as a political lubricant that facilitated creating an exquisite, idealized image of the country, with the pre-Hispanic world as the main focus of attention. Américo Castro, who founded the Cultural Affairs Office, launched the first right step in foreign cultural diplomacy in Spain. Campo (2015) argues that regardless of the cultural dimension being incorporated into international relations, it was narrowed down to the founding of missions, the teaching of the language, and the establishment of cultural institutions; thus, Spain's cultural diplomacy has continued to be prioritized and re-oriented.

According to Lane and Ersson (2018), Australia refocused on cultural diplomacy to engage with the world. She established the Asian Century White Paper and the Review of the Australian Council, which signalled a renewed national interest in 'cultural diplomacy' and soft power.

According to MacDonald (2015), in recent decades, the interest in using cultural and external diplomatic relations in the EU has been growing steadily. The idea has gained a

lot of importance, and in a communiqué, the European Commission (EC) suggested putting it “at the core of EU international relations”. EU high representative and Vice President of the Commission, Federica Mogherini, stated, “culture is a powerful tool to build bridges between people, against those trying to divide us, which is why cultural diplomacy must be at the core of our relationship with today’s world”. The European Union (EU) equally focused its resources on cultural diplomacy at the institutional level, which was twofold. First, it promoted the international cultural understanding of the European Union, and it strengthened EU member states' cultural diversity within the Eurozone: that is, Africa, Asia, and the Pacific. For instance, in Central Asia, the EU focused on education and intercultural dialogue, which were stressed as priority areas (Measuring European diplomacy centralization).

Mexico’s use of cultural diplomacy has gone through several phases in recent years to fit the ever-changing political and economic circumstances in Latin America and the global world. Her sole objective is to appeal and sell Mexico as a credible financial partner. She has used cultural diplomacy, especially in Mexican films, to achieve this (Rivas, 2014).

Kang (2015) points out that South Korea succeeded in running her cultural diplomacy by employing and promoting her cultural products owned in the form of new strength. For South Korea to boost her economy, she started to promote and transmit her own culture, such as fashion, movies, food, music, drama series, and online games, as a way of official government policy. South Korea has nurtured cultural relations with Kenya since 1980 after the two states signed a bilateral agreement. One of the aspects that Korea has been riding on in her pursuit of cultural diplomacy is the infamous Korean wave. This wave is

driven by the spread of K dramas and K pop music worldwide. The internet and social media and the proliferation of K-pop music videos on YouTube spread this Korean wave. In her activities of promoting Korean culture in Kenya, Korea's government opened a Korean Study department at the University of Nairobi in 2013.

The Korean government is also involved in conserving forests and ecosystems in Kenya. Indeed, Since 2013 Korea has been involved in tree planting in the Aberdare to conserve the forest cover. In addition, as of 2014, the Korean embassy in Kenya has been organizing a theatre activity called “Visual Korea”, which displays Korean movies that have earned a good reputation globally. The embassy also organizes Korean-speaking contests at the University of Nairobi. Moreover, there was an attempt to open the institution of Korean studies at Kenyatta University in 2014. However, it is the martial art of Tae-Kwon-do that has sold Korea in Kenya. Initially, the Korean government-sponsored an expert to train the Kenya Defence Forces in Tae-Kwon-do. Since then, this martial art or sport has been adopted in schools, colleges, and universities. Similarly, the use of the Korean Church in the application of cultural diplomacy is the other aspect that the nation has employed. The Korean Church has opened mission centres in Nairobi with expansive churches and training colleges. The Korean church also has a television channel to spread Christianity, penetrating the common masses in Kenya (Jonghee, 2016).

India’s soft power assets of cultural diplomacy were not considered in the foreign policy-making toll until the 1990s. The policy-makers were aware that modern India's founding

fathers were the critical brands of culture, but there was reluctance to employ cultural diplomacy tools to realize foreign policy goals.

China's cultural diplomacy aims at creating a positive image of herself. China's strategy is to use large-scale cultural activities, for example, Chinese cultural festivals. The African Thematic year of 2004 was one such cultural festival whose purpose was to promote Chinese cultural diplomacy. This event featured an exposition of Chinese culture in Twenty-Two African countries. The African audiences in these countries were thrilled by Chinese sports and games. Chinese cultural diplomacy in Africa can be traced back to the mid-1950s, when cultural exchanges between envoys of China and those of African states promoted goodwill between China and the African nations. In 1956, the Chinese government dispatched arts and cultural delegations for official visits to four northern African countries and Ethiopia, while in 1957, a similar delegation was sent to Ghana.

The Chinese commitment to cultural diplomacy is demonstrated in her budgetary allocation to support China/Africa cultural relations. On average, China allocates 5-6 million CNY each year for cultural diplomacy in Africa. These funds are earmarked for people-to-people exchange (including cultural officials, performing troupes, academic exchanges, artists, and performers). A quarter of the budget for cultural diplomacy is utilized for regular cultural donations (including books, DVD players, stage stereo systems, and small grants). In 2005, the Chinese government launched the Overseas Chinese project, whose mission was to send volunteers abroad. These volunteers were to teach the Chinese language to Africans. In a speech in 2006, the president of China, Hu Jintao, announced that China planned to encourage youth volunteers to participate in

construction and language teaching careers in Africa. In the Beijing declaration on the China African cooperation, it was estimated that 300 Chinese Youth Volunteers would be in Africa by 2010.

Chinese cultural diplomacy was two-way, in the sense that Chinese culture was popularized in Africa, while at the same time, the African culture was displayed in China. A good case in point was in 2003 when China popularized the African culture through a TV program entitled “A passage to Africa”. The film crew shot the film in 30 different African countries. The film ran in different theatres in China for 97 days, and this inspired Chinese people to come to Africa and experience the African culture in practice. In 2007, the Chinese government came up with a cultural visitor program targeting the following African countries: Uganda, Tanzania, Madagascar, Benin, Mali, Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia, Zambia, Senegal, and Botswana. Moreover, China established Confucius Institutes in Africa to promote her cultural diplomacy (Liu, 2008). The Chinese government offers thousands of scholarships to African students to study in China. Besides, Media, for example, China Radio International, promotes Chinese cultural diplomacy by broadcasting 43 different African languages. Indeed, the Chinese News Agency, Xinhua, broadcasts in English, thus covering a broad audience in Africa. In addition, the Chinese Public Television reaches the whole world via satellite, while the Chinese government uses websites to popularize her culture (Ozken, 2015).

Chinese interests in Kenya could be traced back to 1980 when Daniel Moi, the president of Kenya at that time, made an official visit to China. The visit culminated in the signing of two bilateral agreements. The agreements touched on technological cooperation and

technical support to Kenyan universities, scholarships for Kenyan students to study in China, military and cultural exchange, and financial aid to construct the Moi International Sports Centre at the cost of Kshs.930 million (with the capacity of 60,000 people). In the 24 years in which Daniel Moi was in power in Kenya, he made three state visits to China, while about 20 top-level Chinese diplomats came to Kenya in the same period. Notably, Chinese Prime Minister Zhao Ziyang came to Kenya in 1983; Foreign Minister, Wu Xuegian, made a state visit to Kenya in 1987.

President Jiani made an official visit to Kenya in 1996; and Prime Minister, Zhu Rongji, visited Kenya in 2002. The Kibaki administration that took over from Daniel Moi also enhanced the 'look east' foreign policy. Thus, Mwai Kibaki made an official visit to China in 2005 to secure funding and technical assistance for Kenya's economic recovery plan. The Chinese president Hu Jintee reciprocated by making an official visit to Kenya in 2006 (Wheeler, 2014).

China seems to have borrowed France, Britain, and Germany's strategies in spreading her cultural diplomacy. At the same time, Britain founded and built the British Institute and the British Council's capacity all over the Commonwealth Nations. Germany has the Goethe Institute, and France has the Alliance Francoise network internationally. China has established Confucius Institutes to spread its cultural diplomacy. The Confucius Institute (CI) is how China's government promotes her language and culture in Africa. Usually, these CI are hosted in a local university. The universities are mandated to promote exchanging ideas, information, art, and other aspects of culture between China and Africa. The objective of the institutes is to promote mutual understanding between

the Chinese people and the African people.

As an element of her diplomatic strategy, the Chinese government sponsors Chinese language and cultural programs through CI to build a favourable reputation among Africa's people. On the other hand, African states have been very receptive to this Chinese cultural diplomacy because a working knowledge of the Chinese language is useful in promoting trade transactions between China and Africa. Chinese cultural diplomacy in Africa has been developed vigorously in the 21st century. In 2006, the Chinese government articulated its African policy where Education, science, and culture were isolated as cardinal pillars supporting economic cooperation, peace, and security relations between China and Africa. According to this policy, the Chinese government provides scholarships to African students to pursue higher education and technical training in China. Chinese teachers would also be deployed in Africa to teach the Chinese language (Wheeler, 2014:2).

In 2004, China and Kenya signed a Memorandum of Understanding to establish a CI at the University of Nairobi. The Confucius Institute (CI) was opened at the University of Nairobi in 2005. The University of Nairobi Confucius Institute (UONCI) had enrolled 200 students by the 2009/10 academic year. Most of these students were not doing full-time degree courses at the university; instead, they were admitted from technical and private colleges in Nairobi. Some of the students were professionals and entrepreneurs who were learning the Chinese language to enhance their careers and businesses. A few unemployed youths were enrolled in the institute with the hope of using the certificate in the Chinese language to secure employment (Wheeler, 2014).

At Kenyatta University, a CI was opened in 2010, providing a one-year free certificate course in the Chinese language. The course has attracted learners from both the university and the public. At Egerton University, the CI was opened in 2014. It offered lessons in agriculture to the public alongside the Chinese language. In 2015, a CI was opened at Moi University, establishing a training centre in textile and costume design alongside the Chinese language. CI Moi helps students to learn about Chinese textile technologies and experiences. The CI Moi centre is a product of a collaboration between Moi University and the Shanghai-based Donghua University. Donghua University is renowned worldwide for its expertise in textile and design (Hui-Ping, 2018:127-128). Using the CI, the Chinese government is consistently penetrating the Kenyan community and influencing their perceptions and attitudes to create an enabling environment for advancing Chinese national interest in Kenya.

Nigeria is another emerging African continental power that has invested heavily in cultural diplomacy abroad. Nigeria's image in Kenya has been felt through her film and music industries. Nigeria began promoting her film industry as early as 1979 when she established Nigeria's National Film Corporation. The corporation's objective was to produce films for the domestic and export markets. Films are vital in changing people's mentality and thus can serve as a medium of cultural export. Nigeria has also promoted music, which is an important component of culture. She has used her music to project aspects of her culture to Kenya and other nations in the international community. Nigeria's music and Nollywood (film industry) have rebranded Nigeria significantly. Nollywood is the second-largest film industry globally and a vast employer of labour.

Though Nigeria does not physically have a cultural institute in Kenya as in the case of France, the remote cultural exportation through the Nigerian film industry that largely relies on Nigerian culture and tradition has impacted the Kenyan masses; for instance, the Nigerian dress code's adoption and the infiltration of Nigerian vocabulary in expressions like “Chineke”. This illustrates the potential of using film as a media of cultural diplomacy beyond state borders (Satubo & Chidyzie, 2014:74).

Bennett (2020), in evaluating the advantages and disadvantages of cultural diplomacy in Asia, notes that the intensity of French soft power was hampered by culture clash making the elements of cultural diplomacy challenging to implement. Although Rieker examines the impact of cultural diplomacy in Asia, the current study narrows it down to Kenya as a state. The French step up in cultural diplomacy necessitated assessing cultural diplomacy's effectiveness and ineffectiveness in international relations.

1.9.2 French Cultural Diplomacy Towards Africa

Lane (2013) notes that French is regarded as the most commonly used language across borders, second to English. As the instrument of cultural diplomacy used by France to transplant her culture across the world, French cultural diplomacy, by extension, has resulted in creating gaps and destruction in the world outside France. The African continent has many of its citizens using French as either a *lingua franca* or an official language, which has resulted in variation in the French language, leading to distortion, even to a highly alarming proportion. Owing to French culture and language spread, respective local African languages risk being eroded if not completely depleted. France's advantage in spreading her cultural diplomacy during the post-colonial era was her strong

cultural presence in the states she colonized in Africa and beyond. Therefore, France became a state that mainly depended on the robustness of her culture and language, along with French assimilation's popular policy in her territories.

During the colonial era, those who learned the French culture and language in the country's territories received unique benefits, including having equal status as French citizens. This strategy is contrary to the happenings in the British territories during the colonial period. Granted the effective cultural diplomacy lasting for over a century, most West African states like Senegal and Mali still have connections with the French authorities due to their positive attitude. However, in Anglophone countries, especially Kenya, French cultural diplomacy is a recent phenomenon that seeks to explore a positive image of France among Kenyan citizens. The approach in strategy is necessary to realize the intended cultural diplomacy objectives (Drake, 2011).

As Cooper et al. (2013) postulate, cultural, and diplomatic strategies are vital soft power tools useful in recognizing countries' prestige and influence. Adopting proper cultural diplomatic measures result in fascinating appeal and collaboration. France has continuously replicated the cultural diplomatic strategy used in her former colonies, political and historical experiences of the non-francophone countries notwithstanding.

According to Parmar et al. (2010), while the concept of coercive diplomacy employed inducement and coercion, cultural diplomacy relies on influence based on setting common nations' agendas to foster appeal and cooperation. Countries that have long used cultural diplomacy have adopted governmental institutions in the form of cultural centres

and institutions to strengthen their agenda abroad. However, these institutes' success, such as Alliance Française, depended on effective outreach programs, especially in those countries speaking a different language from that of cultural institutes' origin countries.

Gienow-Hecht and Donfried (2010) argue that the major components employed in the use of cultural diplomacy as a strategy include listening, exchange, international broadcasting, and advocacy. These are encompassed in language, education, film, visual and performing arts, fashion, and cuisine. The substance of cultural diplomacy employed to influence a recipient public determines the strategies and measures necessary to implement and achieve a desired foreign policy. Based on this realization, it appears France operated on broad cultural diplomatic objectives in both Anglophone and Francophone countries without appreciating individual countries' unique historical experiences. Against this backdrop, the need to examine unique strategies of French cultural policy in Kenya was paramount.

France's overseas diplomatic engagement has received mixed responses over three decades, beginning with the 1960s, on how she projected cultural diplomacy. In the arts sector, the national government and embassies have developed many cultural mechanisms. A close examination reveals that these mechanisms are imbued with a colonial logic through post-colonial lenses, and that colonial patterns are being maintained. The mechanisms equally lack definite implementation strategies mainly because the uninformed strategies do not fit individual states' political, cultural, and economic orientation, especially in nations that were not under the France rule (Lyons et al., 1994).

An effective cultural policy of a country should be conducted within all the levels of government, with its assumptions showing the basic objectives of the state in terms of developing and maintaining good relations, advocating the national heritage, and moulding the core principles of supporting creativity and promoting the state's culture abroad. In this regard, in the case of France, there was a disconnection between the cultural policy framework and the practical implementation of cultural policy (soft power) as a diplomatic tool (Isar, 2020).

According to Rosendorf (2009), EU member state France must develop a country-based cultural policy strategic approach to culture's role in external relations with African states. This should build on the EU's progressive strategic approach towards international cultural relations and draw inspiration from foreign cultural policies. This country-specific strategy should involve state public authorities as key partners, focusing on local administrators and various higher learning institutions, channelling a two-way mutual approach to cultural relations. This lies upon the principle that, without their incorporation, France's cultural diplomatic policies for recipient states remain limited in scope. This work was useful for this study for it gave a conceptual policy framework on French cultural diplomacy

1.9.3 French Cultural Diplomacy towards Kenya

Kombo (2019) made a remarkable contribution towards demystifying French cultural diplomacy towards Kenya. His work was confined to the French language as a tool of soft power used by France to penetrate into Kenya, a country associated with British colonialism. He elaborately demonstrated how France has invested in various programs

to promote the teaching and learning of the French language in primary, secondary, and universities in Kenya. He observed that France was using education to enhance familiarity and accommodation of her culture in Kenya. This work is a pioneer study in French cultural diplomacy towards Kenya. It does not delve into the strategies other than education that France has developed to popularize her cultural diplomacy in Kenya. This current study looked at Language, media, cuisine, exhibitions, and education exchange programs, among other strategies that have concretized French cultural diplomacy towards Kenya.

Franco & Njogu (2020) conducted a survey of funding for French audio-visual and performance art, film, and cinema in Kenya. They opine that the government of France supports French cultural activities and programmes undertaken at Alliance Francaise. This work does not go in-depth to discuss these French cultural activities and how they promote French cultural diplomacy in Kenya. This study attempted to address this gap.

Another scholarly work that refers to French cultural diplomacy towards Kenya is that of Lidwine (2010). He observed that French Kenyan relations started before Kenya's independence in 1963. France sponsored Kenyan students to pursue advanced degrees in French universities. He added that since the 1980s, France has begun giving more attention to economic diplomacy towards Kenya than cultural diplomacy. This Lidwine (2010) analysis is useful to this study because I reiterate that France had laid the basis of cultural diplomacy towards Kenya even before Kenya achieved her independence.

1.9.4 Emerging Gaps

The literature reviewed has demonstrated cultural diplomacy in other countries, but there is a gap in French cultural diplomacy towards Kenya. Whereas Kombo (2019) made a relatively elaborate overview of the French language as a tool of French cultural diplomacy towards Kenya, other tools, divers, and strategies were not highlighted. As for Franco & Njogu (2000), theirs was a baseline survey with minimal attention to addressing French cultural diplomacy towards Kenya. The other studies were useful in providing a general framework for discussing French cultural diplomacy, which this study borrowed. This study tried to address these knowledge gaps.

1.9.5 Theoretical Framework

This research adopted the following three theories in analysing data. The theories are; decision-making theory, Constructivism International Relations Theory, and soft power theory in advancing the researcher's arguments and presenting findings.

1.9.5.1 Decision Making Theory

Cultural diplomacy scholarship has also adopted the decision-making theory. Scholars such as Rosenau (1966), Sprout (1965), and Hudson (2005) have popularized this theory. Decision-making theory is actor-specific and emphasizes the agency role of an individual. As a focal unit of analysis in decision-making, the individual is constrained by psychological and operational environments when involved in the foreign policy-making process. This theory is premised because an individual human decision-maker acting either singly or in a group informs foreign policy behaviour. The theory provides useful insights into the interface between the decision-maker. This theory brings on board the

incorporation of human will and imagination in explaining international politics (Kabiru, 2020).

1.9.5.2 Constructivism International Relations Theory

Alexander Wendt popularized this theory in 1995. The tenets of this theory are derived from the argument that the world is socially constructed. The reality is always under construction. Thus, meanings are not fixed but can change over time depending on the ideas and beliefs of actors. Two variables define constructivism theory; agency and structure. Agency refers to the ability of one to act, whereas structure refers to the international system that consists of material and ideational elements. There are two schools of constructivism thought: the conventional and critical constructivism theories. The conventional school explains the world in causal terms and emphasizes relationships between actors, social norms, interests and identities. On the other hand, critical constructivists construct identity, which is created through written and spoken communication among and between peoples. For the critical constructivists, language plays a critical role because it has the ability to change social reality.

1.9.5.3 Soft Power Theory

Whereas Joseph Nye is perceived as the father of soft power theory, the Chinese army practiced soft power for over two thousand years. Nye (1990) simply refined and logically articulated soft power and thus elevated it into a popular theory in the study of cultural diplomacy in the 21st century. He developed the concept of soft power theory in 1990, arguing that the soft power theory of a state is grounded on fundamental indicators of its: culture, political values, and foreign policies (Nye, 1990).

1.9.5.3.1 Cultures

Nye argues that culture as soft power is a set of behavioural patterns of propagating ideas and knowledge and a practice that strives to create meaning for society to be attractive to a foreign audience. He further categorizes culture into three domains: universal culture, emended on acceptable international norms; an ethnical culture that distinguishes groups and nations from each other; and finally, cultures owned by people of some social strata for common culture (Nye, 2013). This study adopts that the universal value of French cultural diplomacy has led to the acceptance of French values and policies in Kenya, which have resulted in the achievement of France's foreign policy goals and created more trust and attractiveness, which are the effect of cultural diplomacy. However, French culture's negative aspect negatively impacts narrow values and populist culture to create ineffective cultural diplomacy. This makes it a challenge for French cultural diplomacy (Watanabe & McConnell, 2015).

According to Nye, the conceptualization of cultural advancement, which was adopted in this study, includes Education, language, literature, and technology, whereas popular culture focuses on mass entertainment, for instance, movies and music. Nye argues that soft power assets' practicality repose on the environment, whereas cultural diplomacy rests on popular culture. This makes it essential for France to employ effective strategies to maximize the realization of her influence and prestige. The ineffectiveness of understanding cultural resources and soft power can negatively impact cultural, and diplomatic activities, which may result in irreparable challenges to cultural diplomacy (Barbosa Martinelli, 2016).

1.9.5.3.2 Political Values

Nye advances that political values are significant resources of soft power. They exist on aspects of cultural diplomacy as witnessed by France's political values of equality, fraternity, and liberty. When applied domestically and internationally, political values make one of the soft power resources (Nye, 2019). If a state's political values are in agreement with the action it advocates for, then other states will recognize the worth and legality of their policies will be promoted to help realize the goals of diplomacy. On the contrary, if a state projects different values from what they do, its soft power will be negatively impacted. Thus, if the state intends to have a significant role in the political world, it is crucial to create and influence through its soft power in this way will be able to impact other states' understanding.

1.9.5.3.3 Foreign Policies

Nye notes that foreign and domestic policies are other aspects that soft power is grounded on. The soft power or attraction of a state is governed by guidelines taken as legal that allow other national interests to play out (Nye, 2011). He further argues that diplomatic agreements are one of soft power resource. The political value of a state that it practices in foreign and domestic policies through international channels can influence other nations' choices. Governmental behaviour (whether hostile or friendly) can also determine the recipient states' attraction or repulse. Therefore, soft power's success through cultural diplomacy relies on a state's foreign policy morality and legality. In state-to-state bilateral cooperation, evidence of mutual understanding is embedded in the level of engagement in foreign aid.

This study utilized the soft power theory of Nye and the international relations theory of constructivism because these theories' cardinal ideas describe and analyse France's cultural diplomacy towards Kenya. Whereas the soft theory provides the conceptual framework on which France pursued her cultural diplomacy towards Kenya. The Constructivists theory, whose elements of agency, structure, and language are useful in discussing how France's cultural diplomacy used various instruments, pillars, and agencies to institutionalize her cultural diplomacy towards Kenya. The interdependence theory is not very useful to this study because it does not reveal the underlying factors that made France deliberately, consistently, and purposively establish her cultural diplomacy towards Kenya. The decision-making theory is also limited and less fruitful for this study because it focuses on decision-making environments and cannot critically assess why France invested heavily in promoting the French language, cuisine, media, and education in Kenya.

1.9.6 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This section covers various aspects of the research methodology employed in this study, including research design, study location, study population, sample size and sampling technique, research instruments, validity and reliability of the study, data presentation and analysis, and ethical considerations.

1.9.6.1 Research Design

This research adopted both descriptive and exploratory research designs. The descriptive design was preferred in tracing the initiatives and strategies of French cultural diplomacy because the method presented the most effective paradigm for collecting data in

describing a population that is too large to observe directly (David & Sutton, 2004). Besides, it was suitable for collecting systematic information at a particular time to describe existing situations. Since cultural diplomacy is a new area of study within bilateral relations of core states and periphery states, the exploratory design examined the evolution of French cultural diplomacy in Kenya. This is because of its adaptability and flexibility to change and its effectiveness in laying the foundation for future studies.

This study also employed a qualitative approach. The qualitative approach helped since it guided in producing a detailed description of the respondents, attitudes, views, and experiences, eventually allowing the researcher to interpret the meanings of their actions.

1.9.6.2 Location of Study

The study was situated in Nairobi City County, which hosts the Embassy of France, various headquarters of French institutions and organizations, a directorate of culture within the Ministry of Youth, Sports and Culture, and the Directorate of Cultural Diplomacy within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. Nairobi is also a cultural hub hosting a cosmopolitan population comprising of, among others, the country's elites.

1.9.6.3 Target Population

This study population was drawn from members of the French embassy's department of cultural affairs, French institutions and organizations, Kenya's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Department of Cultural Diplomacy, and Kenya's Ministry of Youth, Sports, and Culture. Department of cultural experiences, schools offering French curriculum, the Kenya French Teachers Association, professionals who pursued their education in

France, students undertaking French lessons, and cultural activities at the Alliance Française in Nairobi city Centre were also incorporated.

1.9.6.4 Sampling Techniques and Sample Size

The study relied on convenience sampling, which was purposive. Since this is a descriptive study that is historical in nature, there was no specific sample size. The objective was to access as many informants who were knowledgeable on French cultural diplomacy towards Kenya until saturation was reached where information is repeated.

1.9.6.5 Research Instruments

This study relied on three research instruments; Oral Interview Guide, Questionnaire, and Focused Group Discussion Guide. Interview guides were used to get information from students pursuing French lessons at Alliance Française and other schools offering French language at secondary and university levels. They were also administered to officials of the Kenya French Teachers Association.

Questionnaires with open-ended questions were administered through the drop and pick method. The questionnaire was administered to officials in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the French Embassy Cultural Affairs department who were too busy for one-to-one and face-to-face oral interviews.

Two focus group discussion guides were developed and administered to beneficiaries of French scholarships and Alliance Française employees. The Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) sought to establish the respondents' views on the issues under investigation.

FGDs were used because of their ability to yield accurate, in-depth information through probing. The FGD guide is represented in Appendices 3 and 4.

1.9.6.6 Validity and Reliability

Content and face validity is necessary to ascertain whether the content of the research instruments was appropriate and relevant to the study purpose (Baumgarten, 2013). Items found to be inadequate were modified to improve the research instruments' quality. Face validity, which evaluates the appearance of research instruments in terms of feasibility, readability, consistency of style, formatting, and clarity of the language used, was done through supervisory consultations (Du, 2010).

1.9.6.7 Data Analysis and Presentation

Data analysis and processing were done in line with the study objectives. This was useful since it ensured that all relevant data for each objective were captured. Primary data were subjected to qualitative and quantitative data analysis, which were coded and analysed thematically. Secondary data were subjected to critical textual analysis and interpretation to explore their usefulness and accuracy for the significance of the research study (Lighton J. R., 2018). The analysed data were presented in terms of description, analysis, and narration.

1.9.6.8 Ethical Considerations

This study adhered to all research ethics and norms by acquiring a letter of introduction from Kenyatta University Graduate School, a research permit from the National Commission for Science, Technology & Innovation (NACOSTI), and a letter of

authorization by the Nairobi City County Director of Education, before embarking on the actual collection of data. The respondents were notified of their rights during the research process and assured of the confidentiality of the information and responses they provided. They were further assured that the information provided would only be used for the purpose of the study. The researcher maintained professional conduct between the interviewers and members of focus group discussions while ensuring that research objectivity remained the guiding theme in data collection and analysis.

CHAPTER TWO
DEVELOPMENT OF FRENCH CULTURAL DIPLOMACY TOWARDS AFRICA
SINCE 1958

2.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses French cultural diplomacy's origins in Africa by looking at approaches to French cultural relations with Francophone African states and Anglophone African countries. This chapter examines initiatives of French Cultural Diplomacy in a few selected countries in Francophone and Anglophone Africa, where France concentrated her cultural diplomacy efforts. The selected countries are; Senegal, Cameroon, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Nigeria, South Africa, Lesotho, and Zimbabwe. This chapter is justified for it lays the basis for the study of Strategies of French Cultural diplomacy towards Kenya. In the chapter, the international relations theory of constructivism is used to explain the deliberate initiatives of France to project her cultural dominance and power in former French African colonies, popularly referred to as francophone and former British colonies, which historians refer to as Anglophone countries. The major tenets of this theory are structure and agency, identities and interests, and finally, social norms. The chapter highlights how France's Cultural diplomacy in the selected African states effectively exploited these tenets of constructivism.

2.2 Background to French Cultural Diplomacy in Africa

France deliberately nurtured a social and political environment in francophone and Anglophone countries that created an idealist structure to construct her cultural

diplomacy. At the same time, France enabled agencies that were actors in implementing her cultural diplomacy. These actors ranged from presidents of France and respective African nations to ministers and senior government officers in France and the selected African states. Other actors included officers of Alliance Françoise. Journalists in both print and electronic media contributed to facilitating France to actualize her cultural diplomacy in the selected African countries.

Warson (2013) observed that in 1945, France emerged from the Second World War victorious but battered and bruised. The political elite took upon themselves the task of rejuvenating France's position to make her great and mighty in the international arena. This was only feasible if France acquired a new empire to regain its greatness. Thus, cultural diplomacy was the best strategy for gaining a new empire without causing friction with other powerful states in the global village. After 1945, French foreign cultural policy was operationalized on three specific objectives. The objectives were to restore the flow of intellectual exchanges that had been interrupted by the Second World War; to address the needs of those states requiring teachers, books, and multimedia materials to learn the French language and culture. Lastly, she promotes French philosophy and ideology despite her humiliation in World War II. This was to be implemented by establishing a solid teaching policy and spreading French culture in Africa.

France's penetration into Africa was based on the perceived philosophy that French cultural, moral, and economic philosophies were superior to any other in the world, and they had to be exported into Africa to civilize the African people, who were seen as

backward. This philosophy was to be disseminated into Africa through the French language and culture (Warson, 2013).

The post-war era saw the creation of a portfolio of cultural advisors in the embassies. By 1949, various French embassies had filled fourteen cultural advisors' positions. This was followed by signing many cultural conventions and the formation of joint commissions. There was then the negotiation of sixty bilateral treaties signed between 1945-1961. To entrench French cultural policy in Africa, there was a need to consolidate the status of the French language and culture while at the same time developing technical cooperation and exchange between France and African states (Lane, 2013).

France's strategy to hand over self-governance to independent African countries was conducted in such a manner that it witnessed France replace colonial administration ties with close relations on providing aid, assistance, and human resources in transport, health, the judiciary, defence, and education. In 1961, for instance, France established the ministry of cooperation (Ministere de Cooperation) to coordinate aid and cooperation between France and her former African colonies. The majority of bilateral agreements setting out the terms of French cultural aid focused on assistance to schools, cultural centres, and the media. In all former African French colonies, the independent African governments promulgated French as the official and national language, thus setting a conducive environment for French cultural diplomacy. In these former French colonies, France dominated the higher education sector by providing teachers, training manpower, financing the construction of schools, colleges, and universities, providing scholarships for students to pursue university education in France, and developing managerial skills.

This was an added advantage in promoting her cultural diplomacy, thus, creating a cultural empire (Walsh, 1999).

France laid the infrastructure on which to develop her cultural diplomacy in Africa in the first two decades of the post-second world war. This infrastructure was supported by a legislative and policy framework that gave impetus to France to pursue soft power strategies using French culture, French language media, and education. The cultural diplomacy strategies in countries that had been former French colonies were radically unique from those in African countries that Britain, Belgium, and Portugal had colonized. Charles De Gaulle, the first president of the Fifth Republic of France, was the architect of French cultural diplomacy in Africa. In 1960, he clarified that France was changing from the outdated colonial system to a new approach of friendly cooperation with African states. He went further and modified the Ministry of Overseas France to the Ministry of Cooperation and Technical Assistance, While the ministries of FONDS and FERDES were merged and renamed the Fonds d'Aide et de Cooperation (FAC), whose portfolio was to foster development in francophone sub-Saharan Africa (Robold, 2017). He had a personalized picture of France-African relations. He transformed into action by creating a Franco-African community in which France was to retain control over essential sectors of defence, foreign affairs, economy, monetary and strategic matters, and minerals in francophone African states. De Gaulle entered into bilateral agreements with former African colonies of France to legalize the socio-political and economic dominance of France in francophone African states (Robold, 2017).

France's cultural diplomacy from the outset took the form of direct state intervention. In practice, the central government intervenes in the arts, while the minister of culture wields immense power, with a budget that runs into billions of euros and/or dollars. This state intervention was traced to De Gaulle, who in 1959 set up a full-fledged department for the arts under the famous French novelist Andre Malraux (Loosely, 2001).

2.3 Culture and Diplomacy in Francophone Africa

France's African cultural relations have been perfected in the francophone African nations. These are the former French colonies in Africa. French culture and language were the instruments used to entrench French colonialism in countries such as Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria, Djibouti, Cote d'Ivoire, Senegal, Mali, and Cameroon, among others. However, French culture and language were much more dominant in Senegal and the Democratic Republic of Congo than in other Francophone countries.

While De Gaulle was the main actor in France in promoting French cultural diplomacy in Africa, each of the above African selected countries had point men who were the agency. Leopold Sedar Senghor, the first president of Senegal, laid the framework for promoting French culture by making French the country's official language. In Senegal, French culture and language have been promoted by supporting secondary and higher education. France supports several educational institutions in Senegal, while students from Senegal have made France their country of choice when advancing their academic careers.

By 2012, about 9000 Senegalese students were studying in France. France set up cultural centres and Franco-Senegalese associations in Dakar and St Louis to spread French

culture and language. These cultural centres and associations were merged into the French Institute of Senegal, which acts as a coordinating arm for advancing French cultural interests in Senegal. Senegal has thirteen schools that offer a French curriculum, and by 2012, 6400 students were attending these schools. These schools are a part of a French cultural package to socialize the youth in Senegal to embrace the French worldview. The Lycee Jean Mermoz School, based in Dakar, leads the schools. France has a big budget to promote its cultural cooperation in Senegal. In 2011, for instance, EUR 1.8 M was used to support operational costs of the institutes of Alliance Francoise, EUR 300,000 was allocated to cultural activities, while EUR 25,000 was spent on audio-visual and media activities to promote the French language (Charfer, 2019).

Moreover, the French government spent a considerable part of its budget supporting Senegalese students who study in France. In 2011, 9842 Senegalese students were studying in France. The French government also supports research partnerships between Senegal and France, such as Institute de Recherche Pour le Development (CIRD) and the agricultural research association, Resercherche Agronomique Pour le Development (CIRAD), and the Institute Pasteur (Charfer, 2019).

The youth in Senegal are updated on France's current affairs through television, the internet, and print media. Internet sites such as Rewmi.com, seneweb.com, and facedaka.com facilitate the continuous socialization of Senegal youth in the French culture (Charfer, 2019).

French cultural cooperation in Senegal has created an enabling environment for the commercial activities of French companies. About 250 French firms employ almost 20% of Senegal's employable population. These firms have influenced French culture and language adoption among the workforce (Bawa, 2013).

One could note that French cultural diplomacy in Senegal aimed typically at making the Senegalese citizens perceive their worldview through French culture, ideology, and philosophy. The huge number of students taking their higher education training in France is adequate evidence to make one believe that France was a model of a perfect modern society, which Senegal was to achieve in the independence era. At the same time, these technocrats and professionals from French universities emerged and occupied key positions of power in Senegal. Using these positions, they definitely promoted France's image and presence in Senegal.

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The French language was used to construct new identities among the youth in Senegal. Electronic media, particularly French Television, was crucial in consolidating the new social identity based on French culture and philosophy among the youth.

In the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), the impact of the French language and culture is vivid. Radio France International (RFI) is popular among the 10 million residents of Kinshasa, the capital city. RFI is the most influential radio station, considered authoritative media on political and economic issues in the country. Through this radio station, the people have embraced the French language and culture; RFI's mandate is to provide a specifically French and pluralistic perspective on political, economic, and social issues affecting humanity globally. The French government is the key sponsor of the RFI and perceives the overall objective of RFI as the dissemination of French culture through radio programs in French and the promotion of Francophonie in the world (Anke & Marie, 2016).

In the Democratic Republic of Congo, French culture's impact is overwhelming. Although France did not colonize Congo, she had a strong influence on Belgium, including using the French language as one of Belgium's official languages. As Belgium colonized Congo, she transferred the French language as one of the official languages of communication. Essentially, this indicates an effective French cultural diplomacy exported to Europe, Africa, and other parts of the globe. Indeed, contrary to set trends that have witnessed close ties between independent African states and their colonial masters, DRC seemed to have a closer cultural affiliation to France than Belgium. For instance, most famous musicians and artists from Congo sing in French or a mixture of

French and the local dialect, Lingala. They equally prefer staging shows and residing in France. Perhaps it can be argued that these African musicians find themselves accommodated and supported in France through the French language connection. Despite the Kiswahili language making some inroads in Congo, the French language is mainly domesticated within the educational sector since it is used as the official language of instruction. Arguably, 56% of DRC'S citizens speak French; 78% of Congolese over ten years speak in French. This is the second-highest percentage of French speakers in Africa after Gabon.

Further, about 88% of Congolese over 14 years of age admit they have an easy expression in French. Several Congolese writers such as Tchicaya U Tam'si, Jeannette Balou Tchichelle, Henri Lopes, Lassy Mbouity, and Allan Mabanckou have embraced French culture, language, and education to make a mark in literature in the Francophone world (Mark, 2019). The bilateral relationship between France and DRC is supported by specialties based on Francophonie. The elites in DRC expressed a general feeling of loss of their mother tongue, and one could link this to the nature of the school system, which gives an upper hand to the French language, thus marginalizing the indigenous African languages. French is the official language used in DRC in public administration, parliament, and the court system. It has permuted into the Congolese people's social milieu of the Congolese people, and most of the song and dance are influenced by the French language and culture. All schools, colleges, and universities since DRC achieved independence in 1960 adopted the French language as a medium of instruction.

Diane (2010) illustrated how the French language culture is entrenched in DRC. He opined that the French language was perceived as part and parcel of the school culture. He added that a pupil expressed the situation in the following phrase:

I would not argue that the local dialects were banned, but we opted to use French in our day-to-day conversations. It was part of the norms in school, which we easily adhered to.

The above quotation clearly demonstrates the symbiotic relationship between the French language and culture within the education sector. Other languages had no place at school. The pupils were totally assimilated into the use of the French language to the level of associating their social interaction with mastery of the French language. Even at home, pupils assisted each other in learning and communicating in the French language. Their peers mocked those who made grammatical errors in the French language.

In the 1970s, Mobutu Sesekeko introduced the policy of Authenticity, intending to promote African identity and African dialects in DRC. The supporters of authenticity criticized the exclusive dominance of the French language in schools, colleges, and universities. They went further to push for the teaching of African languages in all educational institutions. The ideology of authenticity promoted Africanization in the country. However, this ideology failed to stop the French language and culture dominance in DRC schools and society (Gama, 2016).

The close cultural influence ties between France and Congo had witnessed sitting heads of the states visiting Congo and vice versa; for instance, in 2008, President Kabila visited France, while in 2009, President Nicholas Sarkozy visited DRC to promote cultural and

economic ties. Also, in 2012 President Hollande paid a visit to Congo, which was hosting a Francophone summit.

France-Congo's cooperation is extensive and dynamic. It focuses on the projection of French soft power mainly in enhancing education services, health services, Biodiversity conservation, cultural cooperation, and environmental protection. For instance, the debt-reduction and development contract signed in July 2013 provided for the allocation of €170 million in education, vocational training, water and sanitation, and financial governance (Jora, 2013). French cultural diplomacy's success may be gauged using the case of Congo. The strong language appeal has influenced DRC leaders, elites, and citizens in liking France, arguably, over Belgium or other European powers, in terms of preferred destination of education or migration.

The penetration of French culture in the Democratic Republic of Congo is an illustration of the results of French soft power strategies in Africa. France has used media and the French language to achieve social and cultural organization among the Congolese in the last sixty years. Social norms and codes of behaviour reciprocate what is considered. Social norms and codes of behaviour reciprocate what is considered standard or acceptable behaviour as defined by the behaviour rules conducted in France. The logic of appropriate behaviour as postulated in the constructivism international relations theory is well manifested in the change of behaviour among the pupils and students in primary and secondary schools, where the French language was used in all interactions and conversations out of school.

In Cameroon, the film industry was a popular strategy adopted by France to promote cultural diplomacy. As early as 1919, France had already laid her structures of film production in Cameroon. However, 1963-1973 was the period that witnessed an increased use of film to advance French culture in Cameroon. In 1919, Cameroon's first film was shot, titled *Le Haut-Commissariat de la Republique Francoise au Cameroon*. In 1962, Jean-Paul Ngassa made a film titled *Aventure en France*, whose theme was documenting the daily life of Cameroonian students in Paris.

In 1963, Theresa Sita Bella shot another film entitled *Tam Tam*. From 1963 to 1973, over 15 films were produced with France's financial and technical support. In the post-second world war era, France used cinema as a tool to disseminate French ideas and French soft power. In the independence era, French film policy aimed at strengthening Franco's African cultural connection through newsreels, educational documentaries, and films of cultural expression. The French Institute is the central organ that promotes French cultural activities in Cameroon in the contemporary period. The institute organizes various activities of photography exhibitions, theatre workshops, and cultural festivals. It also screens films (Robold, 2017).

The leadership of France's fifth republic had a mandate of creating an idealist structure in France and Africa of France's potential and actual hegemony in the international community. De Gaulle, the first president of the Fifth Republic, was the key agency and dominant actor in France in using cultural diplomacy to reconstruct the new image of France in the global arena. He used the presidency to reconstruct the identity of France in Africa. The purpose of the identity was to entrench social norms that were characterized

by behaviour that France intended to inculcate in the milieu of francophone and Anglophone Africa.

The film industry radically transformed the worldview of the youth in Cameroon. The Institut Francais was a key actor in the social reconstruction of new identities among the youth in Cameroon. By the turn of the 21st century, France had successfully created a new social and cultural philosophy in Cameroon, which sustained French domination of Cameroon.

2.4 French Cultural Diplomacy in Anglophone Africa

McClory's (2011) conceptualization of soft power theory accurately captures the initiatives of France to advance her cultural diplomacy in selected Anglophone African countries. He expanded Joseph Nye's pillars of soft power into five categories which were: government (political values of a country), culture (set of practices that create meaning for society), diplomacy (foreign policy), education, and business innovation. Nye (1990) identified three pillars comprised of culture, political values, and foreign policies. This soft power theory is also corroborated with the constructivism theory in studying French cultural diplomacy in Anglophone selected African countries.

In dealing with Anglophone African countries, France was cognizant of the soft power aspect of attractiveness and the ability to shape the preferences of others without the use of force, coercion, or violence but through culture, political values, institutions, and policies.

France has advanced her national interests through cultural diplomacy over a long period. In Nigeria, France concentrated on advancing her cultural diplomacy by influencing the government of Nigeria to make the French language the second language taught in Nigerian schools as well as the working language for member states of the Economic Community of West African States, ECOWAS (Warson, 2013).

French-Nigerian relations can be traced to the 1960s. Nonetheless, cultural ties between the two states intensified in 1984; the two nations signed an agreement on scientific and technical cooperation in 1984. The agreement's provisions included developing cooperation in the fields of culture, education, arts, and sports between the two nations by exchanging university professors, teachers, experts, technicians, and scientific research workers. It also included providing scholarships and grants to students to study at each other's universities, technical colleges, and laboratories (Ibesanmi, 2000).

Once the agreement was signed, it allowed intercultural exchanges between the two countries. Nigerian artists, for instance, went to France to perform, and there were increased French exhibitions organized in Lagos and other major Nigerian cities. French artists entertained Nigerian audiences in cultural centres and events in these cities (Warson, 2013).

In addition, France and the Nigerian government cooperated in setting up Nigerian-French language villages in Ajara, Badagry, and Lagos. The two states went further to sign a French-Nigerian cultural pact to promote human exchanges and knowledge between the two nations. The pact covered several sectors, including the linguistics

sector, which focused on teaching, learning, and developing French. Because of the pact, a reservoir of French advisers and technical assistants was created. Each federal state of Nigeria had access to this pool of human resources (reservoir), to enhance intercultural exchanges. This reservoir worked closely with the departments of education, culture, and social services of the Nigerian government. The reservoir's objective was to build the Nigerian French language teachers' capacity and skills. The reservoir also assisted Nigerian adults who were keen on learning the French language and culture.

The Nigerian government promoted French-Nigerian cultural relations by officially making the French language Nigeria's second official language during Sani Abacha's regime. Nevertheless, subsequent regimes did not promote French as the second national language. The student exchange program was the most visibly successful initiative in French-Nigerian cultural relations. The plan entailed identifying institutions of higher learning in the two countries and selecting students to be placed in the institutions. The French government established an agency in Nigeria called the Centre for Research, Documentation, and University Exchange (CREDU) to facilitate the cultural exchange and student program between the two countries. As early as 1978, the agency had facilitated the enrolment of 308 Nigerian students enrolled in technical colleges in France. The University of Ife and the University of Bordeaux had entered into a partnership to facilitate French-Nigerian cultural relations. The two universities' partnership led to a francophone studies program at Ife University in 1977. France sent French language and culture specialists to coordinate research in the francophone program at Ife University (Ibid).

France was consistent in nurturing her cultural relations with Nigeria. In 1995, she entered into a cooperation agreement with Nigeria to support French language learning in 17 federal states of Nigeria 1995 to 1999. The deal was to maintain the learning of French in primary and secondary schools. It was hoped that by 1999 at least 15.8 million pupils in primary schools would be fluent in French (Cerere, 2015).

The above discussion is adequate evidence to support the soft power theory as propounded by Nye (1990) and McClory (2011). Indeed education was a major attraction pillar that France adopted exhaustively to market her culture and political values to the citizens of Nigeria. At the same time, cultural exchange programs between the two countries were useful in advancing French cultural diplomacy. Indeed the deliberate creation of French-language villages in the seventeen states of Nigeria depicts a deliberate soft power approach of entrenching French cultural presence in the mind-set of Nigerians of all ages. The soft power theory analysis of French cultural diplomacy in Nigeria is corroborated with the constructivism international relations theory.

The international relations theory of constructivism aptly captures the underlying factors of French cultural diplomacy in Nigeria. Indeed, the French and Nigerian political leaders and public officers were the key agents in popularizing Nigeria's French culture, language, and philosophy. There was an emphasis on exchange programs to reconstruct the world of France in the minds of the Nigerians. The Nigerian elites who benefited from these exchange programs and educational scholarships were to be the agents of promoting a defined worldview of France in Nigeria. Thus, the international community represented by France and Nigeria was to be the structure on which French cultural

diplomacy was enhanced. The fact that the French language was recognized as the second official language in Nigeria was an indicator of the success of the French cultural diplomatic initiatives. These cultural diplomacies gave France great economic gains since French commercial multinational companies gradually penetrated the Nigerian market.

South Africa is another Anglophone African nation where French cultural diplomacy has deeply taken root. South Africa and France strengthened their states' interrelationship after the fall of apartheid in the first democratic regime's election in South Africa in 1994. Notably, France's cultural inroads into South Africa began as early as 1901, when the Institute of Alliance Francais was established in the country. French cultural diplomacy in South Africa went through a paradigm shift in the post-Second World War era.

The United Party regime, which had the support of Britain, lost power to the Afrikaner-dominated Nationalist Party in May 1948. The Nationalist Party fronted the ideology of apartheid. France did not mind the apartheid; ideology, and in March 1949, she opened an embassy in South Africa. The opening of a South African embassy in Paris followed. France expanded her economic relations with South Africa by establishing French firms Total and Peugeot in South Africa's Pretoria in the 1950s. France did not raise a voice when the Nationalist Party government orchestrated the Sharpeville massacre of 1960. The subsequent decision by Britain to remove South Africa from the commonwealth in 1961 helped push the country into the fold of francophone Africa. In 1962, France became the major arms supplier to the apartheid regime of South Africa. The closely-knit political and military relations between France and South Africa promoted French cultural diplomacy in South Africa (Warson, 2013).

The international relations theory of constructivism aptly captures the underlying factors of French cultural diplomacy in Nigeria. Indeed, the French and Nigerian political leaders and public officers were the key agents in popularizing Nigeria's French culture, language, and philosophy. There was an emphasis on exchange programs so as to reconstruct the world of France in the minds of the Nigerians. The Nigerian elites who benefited from these exchange programs and educational scholarships were to be the agents of promoting a defined worldview of France in Nigeria. Thus, the international community represented by France and Nigeria was to be the structure on which French cultural diplomacy was enhanced. The fact that the French language was recognized as the second official language in Nigeria was an indicator of the success of the French cultural diplomatic initiatives. These cultural diplomacies gave birth to great economic gains for France since French commercial multinational companies gradually penetrated the Nigerian market.

The environment in which France nurtured her diplomatic relations with South Africa, particularly during the apartheid period, demonstrates that she was not indeed committed to her philosophical tradition of liberty, fraternity, and equality which was the basis of her political ideology. She openly supported apartheid, a regime that grossly violated Africans' freedoms, rights, and liberty. France's diplomatic shift to cultural diplomacy in the post-apartheid South African period affirms that the ultimate goal is to pursue economic interests at the centre of her cultural diplomacy. Thus, cultural diplomacy in South Africa and indeed the rest of the African continent was a panacea for her economic gains.

France and South Africa signed two bilateral cultural cooperation agreements in 1994. The agreements covered the sectors of education, sport, culture, science, and technology. Areas of focus in the cooperation included promoting music, literature, artifacts, dance, and arts of France in South Africa through exhibitions, publications, and cultural performances. Similarly, the music, dance, and arts of South Africa were to be promoted in France. Another promotion area was establishing linkages and cooperation between schools, museums, libraries, and universities of France with those in South Africa. France undertook to support the government of South Africa to preserve historical monuments (Mulcahy, 2016).

In 1996, the two nations signed another agreement called the Program of Cooperation (PoC), which targeted arts and culture. The PoC had five articles: heritage, rock art, design, cinema, and music. The agreement encouraged a direct link between the museums, archives, libraries, and organizations in charge of culture in France with those in South Africa in the heritage area. The PoC also encouraged the exchange of professionals in heritage preservation, management, archiving, and museums' science and rock art. The South Africa Heritage Resources Agency and the French Centre National de la Prehistoire became PoC's principal implementers of the Cooperation Program in 2006. This PoC lasted until 2008 (Omusonga, 2010).

Moreover, another PoC was signed in 2010 and lasted until 2012. It strengthened the areas covered in the 2006-2008 PoC. It also expanded the scope to include archaeology, publishing, digitization, copyright protection, touring ventures, and policy development in music and dance. In the same year, a separate agreement was signed on the co-

production of films in the two countries. Further, the South African Department of Arts and Culture and France's Institut Francais entered a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) on the organization and funding of the South Africa-France reciprocal seasons 2012/2013. In 2011, the president of South Africa, Jacob Zuma, visited France. In their discussions with his French counterpart, they endorsed hosting the reciprocal seasons: a French season in South Africa in 2012 and a South African season in France in 2013. A season is a yearlong joint, multifaceted, multi-disciplinary exchange *program* involving two partner states. The season comprises presentations of numerous projects and events in partner countries on a reciprocal basis. Usually, seasons' objectives are to promote national objectives and priorities, for example, skill development, job creation, market access, tourism, protection of a positive image of a country, creation of joint business ventures, and cultural partnerships. The seasons are founded on existing countries' agreements (Smith, 2014).

The French embassy in South Africa and Lesotho promoted cooperation in the French language to help South Africa strengthen her interstate relations with French-speaking countries in the African continent with France herself. The embassy created a department called Cooperation and Cultural Service to increase proficiency in the French language among high school students through exchange visits to France and among teachers with in-service courses held in France and through distance learning. Also, through the department, the French embassy aimed to support and develop French language programs in universities as well as members of the regional graduate school languages, plurality, and development utilising experts exchange and scholarships both locally and in France.

The French embassy, through the department, also aimed to bring technical expertise and support to the South African development of international relations and cooperation in creating a curriculum of French language tuition offered to diplomats and other sectors of the South African public service (www.infofrench.org).

Available statistics indicate that France-South Africa relations have had a significant impact in the sense that by 2012, 21,000 students were learning French in 200 high schools. At the national examination level in high schools, 1,154 students had registered for French as a second national language. Similarly, 1,500 students at various universities in South Africa took a bachelor's degree in the French language by 2012. While at least eight South African universities were partners of the Francophone University Agency (AUF). Cape Town and the University of Pretoria established linkages with the University of Grenoble and the University of Strasbourg in France, offering a Master's degree in French in collaboration. Additionally, from 2006 to 2012, 400 diplomats in South Africa had been taught the French language and were proficient in the language (Smith, 2013).

The established schools that offer a comprehensive French language and culture curriculum are Le Lycee Jules Verna in Johannesburg, Miriam Makebe School in Pretoria, and Cola Francois Vail Lecie School in Cape Town (Zomorrodian, 2011). In recognition of well-entrenched France –South Africa cultural relations, South Africa was chosen to host the prestigious International Federation of French Teachers in July 2012. This conference brought together 2,000 delegates, including teachers, researchers, media players, publishers, writers, diplomats, and policy-makers.

The French Institute of South Africa (IFAS) is one of the agencies that have promoted French culture in South Africa. IFAS was founded in 1995 and had two departments: IFAS research and Dibuke. The institute has been a critical instrument in South Africa, importing arts, culture, and academic exchanges concerning the French language and culture. The institute strives to introduce French and francophone artists to South Africa. It also promotes South African artists on the international scene. It supports artistic events that include: dance, theatre, puppetry, fashion and music shows, gastronomy, design and architecture, art exhibitions, and cinema (Ang, 2015).

The research arm of IFAS has supported about 80 researchers annually, from France to research in South Africa. Dibuke, on the other hand, is an information centre and multimedia library that promotes the French language and culture. It has about 20,000 documents, including children's storybooks, Magazines, comic novels, graphic novels, and books on French culture, language, and history. It also has CDs, DVDs, and French teaching and learning aids.

The Alliance Francaise in South Africa is another pillar of entrenched French-South African cultural relations. Alliance Francaise in South Africa has centres in Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, and Zimbabwe. About 5,000 adults were pursuing French language training in these centres by 2014. There were 100 teachers of the French language in these centres. In these centres, there are learning workshops that make the learning experience full of fun by teaching French through music, travel, theatre, and offering French cuisine (Solomon, 2014).

France's entry into Southern Rhodesia, the present Zimbabwe, began in 1947 when a consulate was set up. France recognized Rhodesia as a potential trading partner with her former colony of Madagascar. Franco-Rhodesian relations developed, and by 1965, there were many economic and cultural projects initiated in Rhodesia by France. These included the construction of cultural centres, schools, and road networks.

The cultural diplomacy of France towards South Africa was not just confined to the elements of the soft power of mutual attraction, culture, and the French language. France went further and used cultural diplomatic initiatives to rebrand her image in South Africa. Traditionally, she was associated with the apartheid regime but using France/South Africa seasons that were organized in 2012, she deliberately rebranded herself to align perception with reality. Melissen (2005) observed that France is probably the one country that has been most influential in branding and rebranding, right from Napoleon Bonaparte to the Fifth Republic. He pointed out that nations explicitly and implicitly shape their identities is because their reality changes are forced to project this change (Melissen, 2005:171).

2.5 Summary

This chapter has discussed the initiatives of French cultural diplomacy, from Francophone African countries to Anglophone African countries. Whereas Senegal, Cameroon, and the Democratic Republic of Congo have been picked to represent Francophone countries, Nigeria, South Africa, and Zimbabwe have been selected as French cultural diplomacy models in Anglophone Africa.

France has basically used the French language as a key instrument in popularizing her culture. Other strategies adopted include; exchange programs, scholarships to pursue higher education in France, promoting the heritage of African countries which are targeted in cultural diplomacy, bilateral agreements, making French working language in regional organizations e.g., SADC, and declaring French the official language in receptive African states.

This chapter gave an overview of French cultural diplomacy in Francophone and Anglophone countries in Africa. It laid the basis for the study of French cultural diplomacy in Kenya. The next chapter highlights the evolution of French cultural diplomacy towards Kenya from 1963 to 1994.

CHAPTER THREE

FRENCH CULTURAL DIPLOMACY TOWARDS KENYA; 1963-1995

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses French cultural diplomacy towards Kenya from the period 1945 to 1995. As highlighted by Joseph Nye (1990) and subsequent neo soft power theoreticians, the conceptual framework of soft power is adopted to assess the formative period of French cultural diplomacy in Kenya. This chapter is organized on the pyramid of soft power as conceptualized by Raimzhanova (2015) that clearly disaggregates vehicles and agents of cultural diplomacy. This pyramid has three categories of resources of soft power; agents, pillars, and instruments. The agents refer to individuals, groups, organizations, and private entities that propel cultural diplomacy. On the other hand, pillars represent spheres or environments that facilitate cultural diplomacy, including foreign and domestic politics, culture and history, education, science and technology, tourism, and business. Finally, soft power instruments revolve around laws and policies, exchange programs, events, conferences, agreements (national, regional, international), concerts, exhibitions, symposia, and publications that act as vehicles of cultural diplomacy.

3.2 Background to French Cultural Diplomacy Towards Kenya

France's involvement in Kenya could be traced back to the formative period when European Nation-states were curving out their informal empires in Africa before the formalization of European colonialism in the last quarter of the 19th century. During this

period, European Christian Missionary Organizations were the ones actively engaged in advancing the cultural agenda of their nations in Africa. East Africa witnessed the activities of the Church Missionary Society, The Friends Missionary Society, and the Roman Catholic Missionary society, among others. France was represented in Kenya by the Roman missionary outreach, which sponsored the French Holy Ghost Fathers to conduct their Christian activities in Reunion Islands, Zanzibar, and Kenya. In Zanzibar, the mission was started by Bishop Maupoint in 1863, assisted by two priests, Anthony Hommer and Edward Baur. The Holy Ghost Fathers expanded into the Tana River in Kenya in the late 1880s, whereby John de Courmont opened a mission at Kosi. In 1890, the mission was transferred from Tana River to Mombasa and was headed by two priests Le poy and Charles Comneginger. In the subsequent decade, the Holy Ghost Fathers expanded their Christian work into the interior of Kenya and founded missions at Bura in Taita Taveta, Kabaa in Kitui, and Mangu in Kiambu (Nthamburi, 1991). These missionary organizations later established schools that became the structures on which French cultural diplomacy was anchored. These schools introduced the French language.

Once Britain formalized her colonial administration in Colonial Kenya in 1895, France had limited chances to push her cultural diplomacy because European colonialism did not provide a freehand for other colonial powers to meddle in the affairs of another colony. Nonetheless, in 1949, France made another footprint in Kenya by establishing a branch of Alliance Francois, a French international organization founded in 1883 with branches in over 160 states globally. This organization became the pillar on which France systematically and consistently built her soft power initiatives in Kenya since

independence. The French government came up with a policy statement in 1950, a product of a report developed by the Direction Generale des Affaires Culturelles at techniques. The report affirmed France's activities in the field of cultural diplomacy would be divided into two categories: the first one being to educate the foreign public, in particular pupils and students, in the use of the French language, French culture, philosophy, and values. Second, to facilitate foreign communities to access French cultural heritage easily. The Alliance Francoise had its work curved out in its support for French cultural diplomacy towards Kenya (Anthony, 1974).

Kenya became independent at a time when France had just launched its Fifth republic in 1958. The constitution of the fifth republic of France was very precise regarding the office responsible for the foreign affairs portfolio in the country. The constitution clarified that the executive had the full responsibility of conducting foreign affairs on behalf of the nation. The first president of the fifth republic, Charles De Gaulle used this constitutional clause to accord himself full authority, power, and control of French foreign policy. Article five of the constitution referred to the president as the guarantor of national independence, the integrity of French territory, and guarantor of international treaties and agreements. Foreign policy was formulated and finalized in the Elysee palace and simply presented to the National Assembly for assent. The de Gaulle regime and subsequent governments regulated the tempo and momentum of French foreign policy towards Kenya during the independence period (Lane, 1981).

The nature of French cultural diplomacy towards Kenya can be understood from the French African policy's overall conceptual framework of the soft power pyramid of

agents at the apex, the sphere in the middle, and the substructure of instruments. In the period 1960-1990, the French African approach was summed up in the terminology of cooperation. Cooperation was broadly defined in terms of spreading French influence across the world, that is, *politique de cooperation est la suite de la politique d'expansion de l'Europe au XIXe Siecle*. Also promoting the French language and culture; securing markets for French goods; and projecting French hegemony or *grandeur* (Chafer, 2005:10). The policy focused on promoting French culture and developing markets for French goods in Africa. This policy was controlled and disseminated from the president's office in France. At any rate, there was a general feeling that Franco-African relations were a presidential domain or reserve right from the era of De Gaulle, who structured the Franca fringe policy (Siradag, 2014).

After the French established relations with non-Francophone African states, they needed to adopt an excellent cultural diplomacy strategy that would appeal to the civilians and their governments in collaborating on various initiatives. The cultural diplomatic influence that relied on language and promoting Kenyan cultural diversity was instrumental in creating the French diplomatic impact of soft power amidst significant powers such as Britain and America (Beauclair, 2003).

The Franco-Kenyan diplomatic relations can be traced to the period after Kenya became a republic. Paris set up a full diplomatic mission in 1963, making France the first European country to set up a diplomatic unit in Kenya, besides Britain, Kenya's former colonial master (French Embassy, 2019). The trends in diplomatic engagements varied from time to time depending on factors that included the geopolitical aspect of cold war

politics, and the preference of various regimes within Nairobi and Paris, considering the administrations of Kenyatta, Moi, Kibaki, and Uhuru.

3.3 Agents of French Cultural Diplomacy in Kenya

French cultural diplomacy in Kenya began with the Alliance Francaise in its initial stages. It then spread out to the personal initiatives of French and Kenyan government officers and political leaders. This section discusses the initiatives of these agents in promoting French cultural diplomacy towards Kenya.

The role of agents in cultural diplomacy follows within the realm of constructivism theory in international relations. Essentially, constructivists and theoreticians argue that agency and structures are mutually constituted. Thus, implying that agency influences structures and structures to influence agency. Agency is understood as the ability of someone to act, whereas structure refers to an international system that consists of material and ideational elements (Theys, 2018). This constructivism theory is in tandem with the soft power theory of Joseph Nye (1990). The next section examines how regime change influenced diplomatic relations between France and Kenya to understand this interconnectedness between structures and agencies.

3.3.1 French Political Leaders and Jomo Kenyatta Government; 1963-1978

Charles De Gaulle, who founded the Fifth Republic at a time when Kenya became a sovereign state under the leadership of Jomo Kenyatta, governed France. Georges Pompidou took over the leadership of the Fifth Republic in 1969 and ruled until 1974, when Valery Giscard d'Estaing, who also did one presidential term (1974-1981),

succeeded him. President Kenyatta's regime thus had to work closely with three French presidents who were the architects of French cultural diplomacy towards Kenya. The founding president of Kenya, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, was very precise on the philosophical foundation of the foreign policy of his KANU regime, which lasted for fifteen years, from 1963-1978. The philosophy of his foreign policy was non-alignment in terms of political ideology. However, he did clarify that Kenya's non-alignment policy did not imply that Kenya would not receive economic and social development aid from either the east or the west or countries allied to either socialism. He stated:

The aim of my government which starts today, is not to be pro left or pro right. We shall pursue the tasks of nation-building in friendship with the rest of the world. We want to befriend all, and we want aid from everyone (Mwende, 2018).

This promulgation opened France's door to nurture her cultural diplomacy in Kenya. Charles De Gaulle, the French president at the time when Jomo Kenyatta came to power, promoted an international image of France based on the system of Francafrigue. This was a system constructed on international clientelism, a mode of domination or hegemony based on unbalanced political and economic exchanges between France and the patron state. In this case, the patron state was Kenya. De Gaulle reserved African affairs as his personal domain as opposed to it being a department or section of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Once Kenya became a sovereign state, De Gaulle began engaging with the presidency directly. This explains the continuous exchanges of government officers from France to Kenya and Kenya to France in the Jomo Kenyatta regime.

3.3.2 Francois Mitterrand Regime and the Daniel Moi Regime

During the 1970s, France supported the Kenyan annual budget's implementation, courtesy of the second vice-president of Kenya, Daniel Arap Moi, who had set up close ties with France's former presidents Pompidou, Giscard d'Estaing, and Francois Mitterrand. Upon Moi becoming the president in 1978, after Jomo Kenyatta's demise, his first official international trip was to France, which laid down good bilateral relations (Diplomatic relations, 2012).

The Moi regime became proactive in wooing the French government to advance her cultural and economic relations with Kenya. In 1978, the president of Kenya, Moi, made an official visit to France to make France advance her interests in Anglophone Africa (Wright, 1980).

France-Kenyan cultural relations advanced tremendously in the 1980s, with a growing Kenyan student population in France and constant visits by the Kenyan government officers to France. The administration of Francois Mitterrand facilitated this vibrancy in French –Kenya relations. The minister assisted the president in charge of cultural affairs, Mr. Jack Lang, to make reforms in the sector of culture. The ministry's budget was doubled in 1982 and gradually increased to nearly represent 1% of the state budget. This budget increased from 2.6 billion francs in 1981 to 13.8 billion francs in 1993. A considerable proportion of this budget was used in advancing French cultural diplomacy in Kenya and other countries in sub-Saharan Africa. As early as 1957, Francois Mitterrand had already defined the role of culture in enhancing the grandeur of France internationally. He is

quoted to have said that “without Africa, France will have no history in the 21st century” (IPSnews.net/1996/01/france-africa-miterrand-legacy-africa/).

The above discussion demonstrates that France's soft power strategy based on cultural diplomacy gradually gave way to smart power, where hard and soft power sources were adopted to facilitate France's critical presence in Kenya.

3.4 Pillars of French Cultural Diplomacy Towards Kenya

The soft power dynamic was embedded in both domestic and international politics. This environment constituted the pillars on which French cultural diplomacy towards Kenya was rooted. France began its formal cultural engagement with Kenya by establishing its embassy. The embassy had a full-fledged department that dealt with French cultural dissemination and French language promotion. A linguistic corporation office was set up in the cultural department at the embassy with a mandate to promote the French language in Kenya. It was headed by the linguistic attaché, whose main terms of reference were introducing and promoting the French language in secondary schools and universities. This office was later added another function of organizing in-service training for French teachers and also curriculum development of the French language. As early as 1964, this office made inroads into national secondary schools and introduced French language lessons in Nairobi School, Lenana School, Alliance Girls, Alliance Boys, and Pangani girls (Orina, 2016).

Collard (2014) corroborates by explaining that French language study as a subject at the secondary school level started long ago during the colonial era. Still, it became widely

taught after independence, with students highly interested in enrolling. Initially, it was being taught in the national schools but later on, it spread to provincial schools (today's extra-county schools), and by the 1990s, it was even available in the district schools (today's county schools). This led to an increase in the number of students learning French and the number of French teachers in Kenya (Collard, 2014).

The embassy of France in Kenya has a division called cooperation and cultural services, which supports the Kenyan government in policy formulation for cultural development. The French cultural institute's formal or legal status in Kenya is that it holds a diplomatic position from an organizational perspective. The cultural institute is attached to the French government's diplomatic missions; hence, it adheres to the Vienna Convention guiding diplomatic practice. The French cultural institute in Kenya plays two broad roles: As a diplomatic entity, it promotes and advances the French cultural worldview in Kenya. It is the primary domain where French cultural appeal is packaged and projected to the Kenyan public; second, the French cultural Institute promotes Kenyan cultures (Beauclair, 2003).

An informant at the Alliance Française corroborated this by asserting that:

The French cultural institute is a venue of artistic creativity in French, Kenyan, and popular cultures. The institute nurtures creativity by promoting intercultural dialogue through education and animation (Key informant interview at Alliance Française, Nairobi, on 6th March 2020).

According to the French Embassy in Nairobi (2019), cultural counselling is a vital occupation among French diplomats aimed to promote the French culture. The French cultural department within the French embassy in Nairobi is assigned a budget size to

advance France's cultural policy. The budget's main focus is development aid, educational services, and culture, including enhancing the French language and arts and facilitating intellectual exchanges with Kenya. Occasionally, cultural attachés are assigned to specific cultural diplomatic objectives to implement France's strategies in a particular area of cultural diplomacy between two countries (Kelly, 2014).

In March 1967, the French government sponsored a French teacher to work in Kenya on a two-year contract. Mr. Jean Daniel Megret was a diploma graduate from the University of Paris. The French government sponsorship included his salary, allowances, and a return ticket. The Kenya government only provided housing. Throughout the initial period of French-Kenyan cultural relations, France consistently dispatched teachers to Kenya to teach French (MFA/09/171/262/85/144/18/01).

By April 1967, about 45 secondary schools taught French and prepared students to be examined in French in the Kenya secondary school certificate examinations. However, the French language teachers lacked adequate teaching skills because they had not been trained in the audio-visual teaching methodology, which was recognized as an effective instructional method for teaching French. The French government offered to train Kenyan teachers in French in the audio-visual course and sponsored training material: textbooks, magnetic tapes, and film strips. The French government went further and sponsored a trainer, Monsieur J. David of the Bureau pour l'enseignement de la langue et de la culture Française (BELC), to travel to Kenya and conduct a refresher training course for Kenyan French teachers (EPD 144/18/01).

This agrees with Ahearne (2018), who asserts that the French cultural policy is organized around the priority of strengthening the status of the French language as an international language. Secondly, valuing French as development and diplomatic tool in the southern Anglophone countries; supporting teaching and learning of French in foreign education systems; and participating in the training of academic elites and foreign professionals on French use.

In education, Kenyatta University College was one of the pioneer institutions of higher learning to introduce a Bachelor of Education degree in French and a diploma in education in French as early as 1970. The French government gave strong support to Kenyatta University to develop these programs. The teachers who graduated from the university were given full scholarships to pursue further training in French for nine months in different universities in France (Chokah, 2013:2).

In 1971, cooperation through French language learning in government professional institutions was established at the Kenya Institute of Administration, Kabete. It was commissioned by the then Ambassador of France to Kenya, Mr. Christian Girard, who, in his remarks, noted that the French had good relations with Kenya and that since 1971, France had mutually helped Kenya as a result of signing a bilateral technical assistance program. He added that the new partnership in French teaching would improve communication between the two countries (Daily Nation, January 11, 1979).

In 1972, the Jomo Kenyatta administration became very concerned over the lack of French interpreters in Kenya. In a report described as a Wamalwa report, the government

underscored the role of French and German in International communication. The reported documented lack of interpreters despite Nairobi city being a host to many international conferences. The report recommended the introduction of French and German at the Kenya Institute of Administration, a college of civil servants at Kabete, and the Government Training Institute at Maseno (Orina, 2016).

The French language policies form an essential foundation of France's foreign cultural diplomacy. The establishment of scientific and cultural exchanges aligns with enhancing the French language as a critical entity of the foreign policy of influence across the globe. Indeed, the French government has equally embraced language education and culture promotion to strengthen its soft power influence abroad (Marshall, 2005).

Omusonga et al. (2009) assert that the Kenyan Ministry of Education rolled out the French language curriculum as part of the foreign languages taught in secondary schools, including its extra curriculum components. The Ministry of Education introduced the French language curriculum in schools, guided by the curriculum objectives: To equip learners with necessary communication skills; to give learners access to oral and written materials; and facilitate further studies, and promote global peace. Most secondary schools adopted the French language and began using it to develop unique sets of pieces for presentations during drama and music festival competitions.

According to Stryker and Leaver (2007), the French language is widely taught as a curriculum in various learning institutions. The Kenya Ministry of Education approved a curriculum to teach and learn the French language at the secondary school level. Students

are facilitated to master speaking, listening, and writing the French language through the curriculum. The French cultural elements are also incorporated into the curriculum. The French government offers technical capacity and advises how the French language should be taught. In this way, France gets an advantage position to decide the kind of experience and worldview she intends to create for learners regarding how they view the French nation and its people. As a quality assurance strategy, the Ministry of Education and Commission for University Education (CUE) supervise the teaching of foreign languages such as French in tertiary institutions to protect the national interest in education.

Gradually, France successfully penetrated the key echelons of decision-making of the Kenyan government by popularizing the French Language in primary and secondary schools and institutions of higher learning and critically in the only Government institute of Administration, where public officers were trained and socialized. This was a strategic method of spreading her soft power in the newly independent state of Kenya.

One critical informant at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) observed that:

The French Embassy and the Kenya Institute of Curriculum Development (KICD) continuously work hand in hand to develop and review the French syllabus taught in Kenyan secondary schools. The Commission for University Education (CUE) plays a crucial role in streamlining university courses, French included, bearing in mind the requirements and standards outlined by the linguistic and cultural department. The French embassy supports secondary schools and tertiary institutions' activities to enhance French culture (Field interview with Deputy Director of Cultural Diplomacy, MFA Offices, on 27th February 2020).

At the same time, there was enhanced French government socio-economic penetration into Kenya. In one of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' annual reports, it was highlighted that in 1980, 45 Kenyan students were studying in France. The French government also

sponsored 29 students to learn French at the University of Nairobi and Kenyatta University College. France's involvement was limited to the universities but soon spread to the Ministry of Defence. The French government-sponsored six army officers for ten months in France for a course in flying special helicopters and five officers from the civil aviation directorate for training in France in 1980. France had also offered training to 14 government officers in electronics and machines from the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting in 1979.

In the same year, there were visits to France by the deputy secretary of the church of education, the director of agriculture, an undersecretary in the treasury, and officers from the water ministry. In France, the Kenyan Embassy also initiated programs with Television France Channel 1 and Radio France in 1980 to promote cultural understanding among the French citizens of Kenya's culture and natural resources. TV Channel 1 produced four films in October 1980, while Radio France aired programs on tourist sites in Kenya (Annual Report, 1980: 1-19).

3.5 Instruments of French Cultural Policy Towards Kenya

France used several instruments in her drive for cultural diplomacy towards Kenya. These include but not limited to; exchange programs, annual summits, and the evolving nature of Kenyan domestic politics. This section examines each of these instruments.

3.5.1 Exchange Programmes

In 1965, a 25-man delegation from France visited Kenya. The team was led by the head of the French Economic and Trade Mission, M.F. Gavoty. The mission held discussions

with various Kenya government ministries on industrial and technical cooperation and French- Kenyan cultural exchanges. Though keen on economic and trade issues, this mission promoted French presence in Kenya (East Africa Standard Newspaper, 28/10/1965). This delegation was closely followed by another one on March 11, 1966, with a specific mandate of gathering information on the possibilities of French cultural cooperation as well as cooperation in the field of social and economic development. This was a six-man delegation dispatched by the Finance Commission of the French senate. The delegation met permanent secretaries of ministries of Housing and Social Services, Information and Broadcasting, Natural Resources and Tourism; Labour, Commerce, Industry and cooperative development; as well as Finance, Economic Planning, and Development. The delegation comprised: Mr. Pierre Care (vice-president of the senate), Mr. Bernard Chochoy (senator of Pas-de-Calais), Mr. Michael Kistler (senator of Bas-Rhin), among others (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Correspondence 11th March 1966).

The French-Kenya cultural relations were two-way; Kenya was promoting her culture in France while France was penetrating Kenya's socio-cultural, economic, and educational spectrum. In 1967, the ambassador of Kenya to France, Mr. Daniel Owino, visited the city of Orleans in the month of June to attend the International Flower Show. In the show, he held talks with the Deputy Mayor of Orleans and the president of the chamber of commerce in France.

The negotiations agreed to host a Kenya Evening in Orleans to promote commercial networking and tourism between the two nations. The Evening was also meant to promote understanding between French and Kenyan citizens. The Evening was ultimately

held on 29th November 1967. Before the Evening, there was a luncheon hosted by the Kenyan Ambassador and attended by dignitaries who included, among others: the director of the cabinet of the regional government of the province, the vice president of the General Council of the government, the Deputy Mayor of Orleans, the president of the chamber of commerce, the director of the cabinet of the University of Orleans, the president of the chamber of agriculture, the president of the tribunal of business and the national delegates of foreign trade.

The evening was marked with film shows, the Kenya Safari films, and exhibition stands displaying agricultural produce from Kenya, for example, coffee, tea, tinned pineapples, and curios. In a speech delivered by the Ambassador of Kenya to France, he underscored that trade, tourism, and cultural exchanges were the best strategies for the two countries to strengthen their relations. He noted that France-Kenya relations would address the imbalance of trade, in which France had exported goods worth 49,774,500 francs to Kenya while Kenya had only shipped goods worth 10,443,200 francs to France by the end of 1966. The Evening was a precursor of the France-Kenyan cultural relations (KEF/INF/3/V2/146/142/1 and KEF/INF/3/V2/146/142/2).

Nginye (2007) agrees that Kenyans' learning of the French language is critical in boosting the country's economic sector, for example, the tourism sector. Workers in the tourism sector needed to be able to communicate with visitors in their language. Besides, Kenya hosts international organizations with a broad base of nationalities, Francophone nationals included. Nginye further observes that the Kenyan tourism sector benefits from

the French language strategy, where hotel investors, tour guide companies, and travel agencies contain many French-speaking prospective employees to select from.

3.5.2 Annual-African Summits

In forging closer diplomatic ties with independent African states, France created the Annual Franco- African summit forums in 1973, held in France and African capitals. Initially, these forums attracted fewer African states. However, African participants generally increased to include Anglophone states like Kenya. According to Nisbett (2013), the 1988 Franco- African summit, hosted in Morocco, comprised thirty-four countries, of which twenty-one had representation by the heads of government. Kenya was represented at this summit, and the summit provided a pillar for French cultural diplomacy towards Kenya.

Lidwine (2010) observes that one of Kenya's essential French foreign policies was development aid, with sustainability being at the core of this policy. He further observes that the French government supported an evenly balanced trade policy that provided French products to overseas markets while preserving collective preferences and sensitivities. The development assistance from sector to sector in the earlier years of the 70s and 80s was geared towards supporting the implementation of the Kenyan budget. However, grants and loans have focused on infrastructural projects in the recent past.

3.5.3 Kenya's Domestic Politics

Kenya has had three significant regimes since independence. The first regime was that of the Kenya African National Union KANU government, which lasted from December

1963 to December 2002. Two distinct leaderships characterized the KANU regime: the Kenyatta administration 1963-1978 and the Daniel Moi administration 1978-2002. Though these two administrations have been categorized as KANU regimes, each had unique aspects in enhancing France-Kenyan cultural relations. It could be stated that the Kenyatta administration laid the structure on which the French-Kenya cultural relations sprouted. The Moi administration marked the beacons by which the cultural French-Kenyan ties matured.

Cognizant of the fact that Kenya had just emerged from colonial domination, French foreign policy experts camouflaged the nation's cultural diplomacy intention in the first two decades. They were projecting it under the background of economic development or political cooperation. There was so much to hide from a misperception of cultural imperialism since Kenya was at the initial nation-building stage. However, the French's vivid cultural diplomatic strategies came into force from the early 1990s onwards.

By 1990, France began feeling the pressure of the waves of democratization that were blowing from Eastern Europe into Africa. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank intensified their push on African states to democratize to receive financial, technical, and material support from Europe, North America, and Japan. In 1990, a Franco-African summit was held at Le Baulle in West France. After the summit, France adopted the Le Baulle doctrine, which fronted liberal multi-party democracy in African countries. Under the doctrine, France was to support democracy and human rights in African countries and decrease its political and economic assistance to African dictators

(Suradaq, 2014). In 1992, France imposed her aid conditionalities on Kenya (Emanuel, 2010).

3.6 Summary

This chapter has laid the formation of French cultural diplomacy in Kenya in the first three decades of independence. It is clear from the preceding analysis that a collaborative initiative of the French government through the French embassy in Kenya was at the Centre of the metamorphosis of French cultural diplomacy in the country. Nonetheless, the international non-governmental organization, which was incorporated into the French foreign affairs ministry Alliance Francoise, had already created an enabling environment for the growth of French cultural diplomacy by initiating the teaching and learning of the French language as early as 1949. The French teachers Association in Kenya was also handy in the formative stages of French cultural diplomacy. The KANU regime of Jomo Kenyatta and Daniel Moi was receptive to the French government's objective of rolling out her cultural diplomacy in Kenya. The subsequent chapter analyses strategies in French cultural diplomacy towards Kenya from the period 1995-2020.

CHAPTER FOUR
STRATEGIES IN FRENCH CULTURAL DIPLOMACY TOWARDS KENYA
1995-2020

4.1 Introduction

This chapter gives an overview of how France utilized soft power resources and tools to consolidate her cultural diplomacy towards Kenya, 1995-2020. Joseph Nye's (1990) soft power resources included culture, political values, and foreign policies. Culture comprises of literature, art, education, media, science, and sports. While political values France's policies that promote her cultural diplomacy. While foreign policy is the official documented and oral pronouncements of France towards Kenya, which is packaged in such an attractive manner that the government of Kenya willingly creates an enabling environment for the implementation of French cultural diplomacy. The use of soft power theory in the chapter is also complemented by the constructivism theory, which focuses on structure and agency. The construction of identities and social norms is also an important aspect of constructivism, which will feature in the chapter. The chapter begins by examining the roles of the French regimes of Jacques Chirac, Nicholas Sarkozy, Francois Hollande, and Emmanuel Macron in nurturing French cultural diplomacy towards Kenya. It also looks at the contribution of Daniel Moi, Mwai Kibaki, and Uhuru Kenyatta regimes in Kenya to advance French cultural diplomacy. Finally, it concentrates on key strategies ranging from; education, media, French language, cuisine, recreational activities, exchange programs, local and international non-governmental organizations, scholarships, and other critical cultural activities in promoting French cultural diplomacy.

4.1.1 Jacques Chirac Regime and Daniel Moi regimes and their Impact on French Cultural Diplomacy towards Kenya

There was a slight change in the French- African policy in the period 1990-2002. This period witnessed two regimes in power in France. Mitterrand's regime ended in 1994, and Jacques Chirac took over control in 1995. In the African Summit at Baule, Mitterrand clarified that African countries' French aid would be pegged on reasonable and consistent efforts by African countries to establish democracy. This implied that there was to be a break from the African policy on markets and culture to a policy that was keen on good governance. Nonetheless, Mitterrand did not translate this initiative into practice because he worked in harmony with authoritarian regimes in Francophone Africa (Leonard, 2002).

As concerns advancing African interests, Kenya was included in the Solidarity Priority Zone (SPZ) in 1999. This led to the establishment of a regional agency in Nairobi, AFD covering Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, and Burundi. In securing French interest in 1997, a Regional Resident Mission of AFD was set up in Nairobi to coordinate AFD operations in East Africa. For instance, AFD in 1997 remitted 590 million shillings to various projects in Kenya, including the rehabilitation of water schemes and supporting NWCPC in modernizing and upgrading its management issues, an indication of Franco-Kenyan cooperation (Finn, 2003). In 1998, AFD provided soft loans worth 28 million Euros to Kenya to rehabilitate infrastructure destroyed in the El Nino rains. AFD also provided 9.2 million Euros for rural electrification in western Kenya and 8.2 million Euros for rehabilitating the Meru National park. The Fonds Francais de'l environment supported

the restoration of biodiversity and conservation of wildlife in conjunction with the Kenya Wildlife Services (KWS) with 1.8 million Euros (Barbier, 2018).

At the turn of the 21st century, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Culture and Heritage manage French cultural policy. This could be a clear evidence that the state is at the core of promoting cultural diplomacy in Kenya and other parts of the world. The Institut Francais mainly operates French cultural policy in Africa and the rest of the world. The objective of the Institute is to encourage dialogue among cultures so as to develop the influence of France abroad and ultimately transform the French language into a tool of cultural diplomacy (Robold, 2017).

The rise to the presidency of Jacques Chirac brought dynamism to the French African policy and relations. French African policy spread the risks of France's military interventions and initiatives in different parts of the African continent. This was highlighted in the Renforcement des Capacities Africaines de Maintien de la Paix (RECAMP), which was a French peacekeeping program to help Africans be responsible for their security and participate in peacekeeping forces on the continent.

Between February 11th and 24th, 2002, the French government organized and implemented military training for 900 African military officers in the town of Tanga in the Tanzania Republic. This training was in line with the objective of RECAMP, namely, to equip the officers in peacekeeping skills by handling regional crises to re-establish peace, protect the local population and facilitate humanitarian missions and aid. The

defence attaché in the French Embassy in Kenya observed that 70 Kenya Navy officers participated in the exercise (Kenya Times Newspaper, 13/2/2002).

Chirac continued the tradition of supporting autocratic African leaders. His regime passionately supported Denis Sassou Nguesso of Congo and Mobutu Seseke of the Democratic Republic of Congo, former Zaire. By the turn of the 21st century, the Chirac regime fronted a French-African policy of multilateralism, in which France was keen on supporting regional organizations in Africa and Europe. In 1998, at the Franco-British summit in St. Malo, the Chirac regime announced its motives for cooperating with the United Kingdom on all aspects of France's African policy. France demonstrated her multilateral interests by supporting and financing the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) in conjunction with Britain. In Europe, France was one of the significant contributors to the European Development Fund by the end of the 20th century. In 2002, the Chirac regime convened a conference of thirteen African heads of state supporting NEPAD (Chafer, 2005).

Daniel Torotich Arap Moi was one of the heads of state who attended the meeting. He used the forum to plead with the French business community to invest in Kenya and the East African region. He pointed out that the East African community provided about 80 million people with a ready market. At the conference, President Moi presented Kenya's approach to the New Partnership for Africa's Development. Chirac's government recommendations were included in the final report. Jacques Chirac, the French president, shared with the Group of Eight (G8) summit held in Canada that year (Kenya Times,

3/5/2002). Chirac advanced African interests in the international forums held under the United Nations Organization, G8, and European Union meetings. Chirac introduced the Zone de Solidarite Prioritaire (French Solidarity Priority zone) that brought together 54 countries in the developing world, out of which 44 were from Africa. They included former French, British and Portuguese colonies. All the 44 African states in the zone were eligible for French aid, and Kenya was one of the 44 African states in the Solidarity Priority Zone (Chafer, 2005:17).

The foregoing discussion reveals the gradual changes in French cultural diplomacy towards Kenya. It is apparent that President Chirac, a decisive agent in the advancement of French cultural diplomacy, realized that there was a need to gradually combine soft power approaches with hard power tactics, a combination that Joseph Nye (1990) referred to as smart power. The inclusion of Kenya in the Solidarity Priority Zone in 1999 and the training of the Kenya military at Tanga, Tanzania, in 2002 is evidence of a shift from soft power to smart power. However, the emphasis on foreign aid being advanced to African countries that were democratizing was an aspect of soft power that fell in line with Nye's second resource of soft power, i.e., political values. The role given by the French government to the Institut Francais as the sole agent of advancing French culture in Africa is another aspect of soft power. The Institut Francaise was domiciled in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of France, evidence that it was an agency of the state.

From 2002, Franco-African policy concentrated on business much more than military interventions or supporting autocratic regimes as in the 1990s. The French government emphasized promoting French culture and language as an essential component of

business relations. The mandate of DGCID (Director-General on Development) gave a lot of priority to French cultural activities and commercial businesses. The DGCID directorate has three compartments, out of which only one deals with development programs, while the other two revolve around cultural promotion (Lucia, 2009). This was another aspect of soft power initiatives as discussed by McClory (2011), who observed that soft power resources ought to be perceived as; government, culture, diplomacy, education, and business. Business is a strategy of attracting of recipient state to the domineering state. In other words, France was not just offering culture to Kenya but also business and financial opportunities.

4.1.2 Nicholas Sarkozy, Francois Hollande, and Mwai Kibaki Regimes and their Impact on French Cultural Diplomacy towards Kenya

The regime of Sarkozy and Hollande put in place policy frameworks on which French cultural diplomacy flourished in Kenya. There was a continuous exchange of senior government officers who went to France from Kenya for official visits where key agreements on cultural, education, and economic relations were concluded. Similarly, the French government too consistently dispatched high-level diplomatic representation to Kenya to strengthen the structures on which French cultural policy was nourished. During the regimes of Sarkozy and Hollande, French cultural diplomacy focused mainly on educational activities.

Nicholas Sarkozy took over from Jacques Chirac though Sarkozy's regime was not very proactive in advancing French cultural relations in Kenya and Anglophone Africa. Largely, issues of international terrorism in West Africa and specifically Mali dominated

his African policy. Nonetheless, he had a general working guideline on relating to African states. In his keynote address in Dakar in 2007, a few months after being sworn in as the president, he emphasized that history, culture, and moral philosophy would guide French-African relations. In 2008, in a speech in Cape Town, Sarkozy outlined his African policy in four proposals: dialogue with African states to promote cooperation with France; use of transparency mechanisms to nurture and enhance bilateral relations between France and African states; use of French military presence in Africa to help Africans build their own regional and continental security systems. Lastly, make Europe a major African partner in the sector of peace and security. From the four proposals, it's clear that cultural issues had been side-lined (Melly & Darracq, 2013:4).

The regimes of Chirac and Sarkozy used business to promote hard power in French diplomacy towards Kenya. These two leaders did not hide behind the façade of soft power and cultural diplomacy. In fact, cultural diplomacy in the form of art, language, education, heritage, media, and cuisine was not given prominence in the bilateral relations between France and Kenya. One could argue that the first four decades of French cultural diplomacy towards Kenya in the last part of the 20th century had given dividends. Thus at the turn of the 21st century, France was much more committed to smart power in contrast to soft power in her engagement with Kenya.

The successor of Sarkozy to the Elysee palace, Francois Hollande, was sworn in as France's president on May 15, 2012. Just like his predecessor, he prioritized Mali in his African policy framework because it posed a fundamental threat to French national interests, in the sense that occupation of Mali by Islamist terrorists would, in the end,

expose France to terrorist attacks. In a speech made in October 2012 in Dakar, Hollande spelled out his African policy in sub-Saharan Africa as one that was to be shaped by the promotion and adherence to democracy and human rights. He further noted that French - African relations would be based on the principle of mutual respect for the identity and independence of African states. He followed it up in the French-African summit held in Kinshasa by criticizing the authoritarian leadership and bad governance of Joseph Kabila, who the international community had accused of rigging elections in December 2011 (Lidwine, 2010).

In Kenya, during the Kibaki regime, French-Kenyan cultural relations developed and peaked, even though Kibaki's administration was perceived as nurturing the "Look East" foreign policy. Between 2003-and 2012, French-Kenyan cultural relations increasingly became the springboard for France to gain a foothold in Kenya's economic and political processes. There were two major bilateral agreements between France and Kenya in the Kibaki regime, which enhanced French-Kenya cultural relations. These were the 2006 and the 2011 bilateral agreements.

Before these agreements emerged in January 2005, France's President invited the late Professor Maathai Wangari, the later 2004 Nobel laureate, to participate in a biodiversity conference. In 2006, she was awarded the medal of legion d'honneur. Since 2003, no less than twenty Kenyan ministers have made an official visit to Paris, while several members of the French government have visited Kenya (France Embassy, 2007).

There have been education ventures done in Kenya courtesy of France-Kenya academic relations. The existence of several exchange agreements binds together the two nations' institutes of research in the fields of Chemistry, Linguistics, Archaeology, and Social Sciences. In 2009, a Memorandum of Understanding was signed between the French Embassy, the Kenyan Ministry of Higher Education, Science and Technology (MoHEST), and the French research-based institutes in Kenya (CIRAD, IRD, IFRA), that was aimed at advancing primary academic debates and liberal thoughts in Kenya. According to a key informant at the French Embassy in Nairobi, France-Kenyan academic relations are in line with the Labcitoyen stay in France that calls for civil participants in open discussions on international topics like human rights. The interaction facilitates the rise and rooting of the French language through exchange and recognition of the French culture. The French institute in Paris organizes debates to maintain the French language influence (Interview with a key informant at the Embassy of France, Nairobi offices on 13th February 2020).

Diane (2010) affirms that in 2007, France and Kenya got into an agreement that saw the ratification of the Country Framework Document. The Agreement stated in part that the Franco-Kenyan collaboration would majorly dwell on supporting the training of education specialists and teachers and developing learning resources to develop and build the capabilities of teaching the French language. Kombo (2019) further observed that in July 2007, the Kenyan education minister initiated the first conference on the French language in Kenya after several engagements amongst the French and Kenyan elites. The major stakeholders involved in the dissemination of the French language project in Kenya

include the Kenya Institute of Curriculum Development (KICD), the Teachers Service Commission (TSC), the Kenya National Examinations Council (KNEC), public and private universities, training colleges, various representatives from secondary schools, the public and some non-state actors.

In November 2007, the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs approved Fonds de Solidarite Prioritaire (FSP). Its Implementation began in November 2008 following the signing of a financial agreement with the Ministry of Education in Kenya. Further, the memorandum creating the Franco-Kenyan agreement on the Prioritized Solidarity Fund for the French Language made Kenya benefit initially between 2008 and 2012 as the first face of the funding, which was budgeted for 2 million Euros for the four years. Kenya was chosen as a beneficiary of the special fund with the full realization that she houses one of the biggest Alliance Française in sub-Saharan Africa. This was in terms of the number of students interested in the French language and that the French language was for the 2007 Priority Solidarity Fund for the French Language Financing Agreement in Nairobi. The project aimed to develop and improve French language teaching in secondary schools and universities in Kenya. This project introduced a quality approach to the criteria used to measure learners' achievements in the French language. It adopted a universal framework of learning, teaching, and assessment of the French language, referred to as the common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) (Cerere, 2015).

The above project was structured around three main components. First, it emphasized the initial in-service training of French teachers, the update and modernization of the French language curriculum, support materials, evaluation, and new teaching techniques in

secondary schools. Second, the higher education French language curriculum focused on introducing new academic programs specialized in French Language teaching from a professional point of view. For example, French for tourism, French for the hospitality industry, French for international relations, French for secretarial studies, and French for journalism. Lastly, the project established 15 regional teaching and documentation resource centres for both teachers and students throughout the country to adequately address the challenge of access to oral and written learning and teaching materials.

Since 2010, France has metamorphosed herself and shifted her emphasis from cultural diplomacy to advancing her national economic interests. This was reflected in her African policy, which supported large French companies in doing business in Africa. French companies dominate the sectors of energy and construction in Kenya. The major companies include: Total Limited, which is dominant in the energy sector: Boller, which is a leader in infrastructural development and transport: and Avera, which is renowned for nuclear energy production, ranging from uranium prospection, mining, refinery, and civil energy. France's investment in Kenya by 2008 was over 550 million Euros, which created almost 10,000 jobs in the banking, information and technology, energy, horticulture, and construction sectors. In 2007, France Telkom bought 51% of the shareholding in the Kenyan telecommunications sector.

On the other hand, Total Kenya is one of the leading companies in Kenya in the sale and distribution of petroleum products. It has a network of over 100 service stations throughout the country. It has bought out Caltex from the Kenyan energy market. Similarly, Bamburi Cement, a subsidiary of Lafarge Group, has cut a niche in the

construction industry. French companies such as Alcatel-Lucent and ID Matics, a subsidiary of Thales, the company that the Kenyan government subcontracted to work on the generation of new identification cards, are playing a remarkable role in the Kenya telecommunications sector (Barbier, 2009).

The transport sector in Kenya has a series of French companies that have cut an edge including: Air France Cargo, CMA-GGM SDV-TRANSAMI, and AGS worldwide movers. On the other hand, Schneider Electric has a partnership with Power Technics, which manufactures electric equipment locally in Kenya in the electricity sector. In agriculture, Bondville Boller and Bigot flowers, while in the pharmaceutical sector, SANOF, represent France=AVENTIS and CFAO, through its subsidiary Europharma-Laborex, actively operates in Kenya. The automobile sector had DT Dobbie acquired by CFAO in 2002 and is the sole distributor of Nissan, Renault, and Mercedes. Moreover, the Michelin Tyre Company has an extensive distribution network in the country. In the banking sector, Bank of Africa Group is expanding its network in Kenya and has Proparco (CAFD group) as one of the significant shareholders. Other French companies in the sector include; Peugeot, Bureau Veritas, Avera T&D, BCEOM, and Sugee-Satom (Barbier, 2009).

Several bilateral agreements have been signed between Kenya and France to strengthen ties between the two nations. In 2011, the Kenyan Prime Minister, Raila Amolo Odinga, signed a bilateral agreement on the Declaration of a Strengthened Partnership with his French counterpart François Fillon. According to an annual communication released by the Kenyan Embassy in France (2011), bilateral cooperation covered the areas of

economic aid, economic partnerships, climate change, scientific collaboration, international security, education, and cultural exchange. The agreement created avenues for further negotiations on how other stakeholders could be actively incorporated to sustain and strengthen diplomatic relations between the two states (Lighton, 2018).

It is important to emphasize that French investment in the French language in the first decade of the 21st century in Kenya was a continuity of her soft power strategy. Still, this investment cannot be compared with the massive economic investment in infrastructure and other business ventures that France affected in the same period. Thus, French cultural diplomacy towards Kenya was basically a banner for her economic interests in the country. The empirical evidence provided in the above narrative supports Nye's (1990) emphasis on soft power riding on the waves of foreign policy. In the first two decades of the 21st century, French cultural diplomacy has been propelled by a series of bilateral agreements and policies that went beyond creating a viable environment for the spread of French culture and language. However, indeed deliberately and consistently embarked on creating an enabling environment to nurture French businesses in Kenya.

Additionally, according to Lane (2013), France's bilateral cooperation in scientific and technological innovation and research was aimed at: strengthening the scientific excellence of France through several strategic alignments with developing countries such as Kenya: to consolidate the status of France as a global power in science and technology; strengthening and advancing the technological excellence of the French Republic and her capabilities for innovation: appealing to France's scientific society, the critical stakeholders to promote the excellence of the country's higher and research

education; fostering the global research initiatives to handle international problems, and fostering the French government commitments in supporting various developing countries.

Through the French embassy in Nairobi, the French government has supported various cultural and artistic activities in Kenya, such as film, music, performing and visual arts, and literature. The Embassy collaborates with the Alliance Française network, which acts as a pillar of France's bilateral cultural cooperation. France has promoted cultural diversity by showcasing local production; French agencies continued to work in line with organizations based locally or internationally to enhance cultural heritage that fosters mutual cooperation alongside socio-economic integration and human development. It was further observed that Alliance Française, based in Nairobi, had remained a crucial entity for cultural collaboration. It offered a transformable program of actions that widely involved the art aspects and provided chances for local or international students or artists to display their creativity.

According to Belfiore (2016), France's foreign policy objective is to use her culture to help other nations understand the French worldview better. However, the French government is cognizant of the fact that recognition of cultural diversity under the auspices of UNESCO is essential in creating stronger diplomatic ties within the world. Therefore, through various French agencies, the promotion and strengthening of local cultures through the artistic industries equally remain an essential mandate that France endeavours to fulfil in their host nations. Indeed, as the Kenyan Embassy in France (2011) notes, the French government has been hosting important events to display

Kenyan culture in Paris and Nairobi in the spirit of cultural diversity. The Kenyan cultures showcased include traditional and contemporary music, cuisine, pageants, fashion design, beauty, and other art forms. These events are mostly conducted in Europe to promote integration amongst Kenyans whilst welcoming tourists from different parts of the world to Kenya.

An interviewee at the French embassy noted that:

France has explored cultural cooperation strategy based on intercity linkages, besides promoting unique cultural diversity. In 2016, the embassy facilitated cultural cooperation between the French territory of Mayotte and the Kenyan Coastal communities based on similarities in their cultures and heritage. The people of Mayotte were invited to participate in Mombasa and Lamu's cultural festivals. The interaction aimed to strengthen unique cultural diversities between the Kenyan coast communities and Mayotte, the French territory (Interview with the key informant at the Embassy of France, Nairobi offices, on 13th February 2020).

France's economic and commercial interest is another aspect that defines ties between France and Kenya. Kenya has continued cooperating with France on several economic, political, and social issues within the EU and UN. Kenya has also continued to engage with the government of France to create socio-economic collaborations. The value of French merchandise, imports, and exports to the continent of Africa has significantly increased since 1960. However, the French market share in Africa has persistently fallen, from 7.73% of exports and 9.08% of imports in 1960 to 2.82% and 2.05%, respectively, in 2011 (Kiamba & Bachmann, 2015). However, Africa is an important market for France's logistics, telecom services, and infrastructure companies.

In illustrating French soft power through the economic ties, a key informant at the French embassy in Nairobi asserted that:

Over the years, the French government has focused on various strategies to boost the two states' economies. Consider French interest to include the promotion of bilateral trade through imports and exports, encouraging French companies to invest in Kenya, offering technical assistance, giving grants and foreign aid in the form of loans (Interview with a key informant at the Embassy of France, Nairobi offices, on 13th February 2020).

4.1.3 Francois Hollande, Emanuel Macron Regimes and Uhuru Kenyatta Regime

The French cultural diplomacy towards Kenya reached its peak in the regimes of Francois Hollande and Emanuel Macron. The two regimes forcefully asserted their cultural and economic interests in Kenya. The duo displaced high tactics of the use of smart power as opposed to soft power in advancing their diplomacy towards Kenya. Hard power and soft power were fused into smart power. France took advantage of the isolation of Uhuru Kenyatta's Jubilee regime in the formative years to nurture strong diplomatic relations with Kenya. The Jubilee regime was initially isolated by the Western European and North American democracies because Uhuru Kenyatta, who had succeeded Mwai Kibaki in 2013, was facing crimes against humanity in the International Criminal Court in The Hague. France had in the past associated with regimes in Africa that had been accused of human rights violations and thus had minimal challenges in relating to the Jubilee government. During the Jubilee administration, France became visible in Kenya to the level of the president of France made an official visit to Kenya in 2017. The seeds of cultural diplomacy planted in the last quarter of the 20th century had resulted in concrete economic gains for France. Nevertheless, the French regimes continued to invest in cultural diplomacy, for it was the bedrock of her economic diplomacy in Kenya.

In an interview with a key informant at the MFA, it was noted that:

In 2015, France advanced to strengthen bilateral cultural cooperation with the government of Kenya. The cultural cooperation solely focused on the education sector after Kenya's government formulated policies that were focused on reforms. This cooperation realized a paradigm shift from humanity-based education interest initially advocated by Kenya to a more scientific and technical-based educational approach supported by the French government. The decision was informed because Kenya is a developing state with untapped potential in her technical, scientific, and industrial sectors. The memorandum sought to position science as a channel of widening French influence in the Kenyan territory. With the scientific collaboration agreement between the two nations, the Kenyan Ministry of Education opened leeway for the French Embassy in Nairobi to coordinate activities, including mentoring students to pursue careers in science-related fields (Field interview with Deputy Director of Cultural Diplomacy, MFA Offices, on 27th February 2020).

As Kombo (2019) concurs, France's cultural cooperation is primarily directed towards higher education; it is a government priority in advancing her soft power in other nations. Spring (2012) similarly notes the technical and scientific collaboration agreements signed by the Kenyan Ministry of Education in May 2015. He further affirmed academic collaboration between the two states, noting initiatives like the Kenya Day organized in French universities in 2016 and the enhancement tours of French best graduate schools in Kenya.

In 2013, France initiated a project to connect the Kenyan - Ethiopian power grids, courtesy of the French Development Agency, which provided a 10.5 billion KES soft loan to Kenya. In 2014, Kenya and the French Development Agency signed another 11.5 billion KES soft loan. Under the agreement, AFD was to finance a project to expand Nairobi's water system (AFD, 2013). The loan conditions from the AFD are usually soft since they stipulate a 20 to 25-year maturity period with a grace period of 7 years and attracting an interest rate of less than 2%. Unlike other agreements signed by Kenya, the French loans are open for competitive bidding even to non-francophone companies. This

is opposed to China's model of granting loans, which does not accommodate competitive bidding from non-Chinese entities (Rajab, 2019).

In 2014, a private dairy firm, Brookside, owned by the Family of President Uhuru Kenyatta, partnered with a French firm called Danone. The Kenyatta family surrendered its stake in Brookside in Tanzania in 2017 to Danone.

According to Lane (2013), the government of France provides Kenya with two unique developmental funds, namely, the Social Fund for Development (SFD) and the Prioritized Solidarity Fund for the French Language (PSFFL). The two funds contain their budgets and are managed by the French Embassy in Nairobi's main aid office in the department of cultural and cooperation actions. Both food and humanitarian assistance also have their budgetary allocation, which depends on the people's needs. Lane further argues that the French government has continued to support Kenya's socio-economic development under the Social Fund for Development initiative since the new millennium. The fund's objective was to help alleviate poverty in Kenya by co-financing local developmental initiatives that promoted the poor individuals' socio-economic status in society, empowering the locals to become key partners in development initiatives in the community.

In response to securing and promoting French commercial interest in Kenya, a critical interview at the French Embassy in Kenya pointed out that:

Economically, the French government has committed to making its commercial enterprises and firms enter Kenya, intending to increase exportation volume and increase France's wealth while developing Kenya. In realizing this, the Economic Mission was incorporated within the French Embassy, Nairobi, as an international network supporting French firms and enterprises in establishing a branch in Kenya, contributing to both states' development. Besides, the French Development Agency (FDA) coordinates French economic interest in Kenya, which grants financial interest to the French citizens abroad and the French government. In contrast, the French embassy coordinates the rest of the FDA's functions (Field Interview with a key informant at the Embassy of France, Nairobi offices, 13th February 2020).

Kenya's financial assistance from the French government is mostly based on loans and grants. France has committed over 1.5 billion Euros to Kenya's development between 1997 and 2018 in various sectors like energy, urban development, water and sanitation, transport, and education (Lane, 2013).

Bilateral Franco-Kenyan economic ties are usually dynamic. As of 2018, Kenya was the largest consumer of French goods within the East African region. Kenya's trade volume with France grew by 14% from 2013 to 2015, to an annual average of 163 million pounds (French Chambers of Commerce in Kenya, 2019). This economic cooperation, for instance, saw the return of the locally assembled Peugeot manufacturing brand in 2015, after a long absence in the Kenyan market. Other French entrepreneurs and investors who joined the Kenyan market are Danone, LOréal, Essilor, Schneider Electric, OCEA, Vinci, Sodexo Egis, Bonduelle, and Accor (French Chamber of Commerce in Kenya, 2019). Also, according to the French Embassy, Nairobi, Dassault Systems, Michelin, and General Society have expanded their niche in the Kenyan market. France is the fourth largest investor in Kenya, with her Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) accounting for over 10% of her total capital inflows into Kenya.

According to a FGD, it emerged that:

There exists an interlink between several French entities and the promotion of French cultural diplomacy in the country. As these entities engage in business, their corporate social responsibility is aligned with various activities of cultural diplomacy. Some of the vital French companies, such as Total Petroleum Company, have over 170 service stations within Kenya, which employ thousands of Kenyan citizens while financing cultural activities at the Alliance Française. The French pen manufacturer BIC has also dominated the Kenyan market through a local producer HACO Limited. The French Afribon specializes in producing flavours, food fragrances, cosmetics, ingredients, and beverages in Kenya. Bayer East Africa company specializes in pharmaceuticals, and the Decathlon specializes in sports outfits' production and retailing. These companies have operated in the Kenyan market courtesy of bilateral agreements between the two states while promoting various aspects of French cultural diplomacy (FGD interview at Alliance Française, Nairobi, on 6th March 2020).

Further, the French Chamber of Commerce in Kenya (2019) observed that strategies for encouraging an increase in French exports to Kenya have equally grown over the years. French investors and enterprises have put up branches in Kenya due to economic confidence from soft power influence. The French commercial entities such as the Total Company, the Community Society BIC, and Bayer East Africa Company, among many other companies, have acted as pacesetters for French economic cooperation with Kenya. Equally, cooperation between the French government and Kenyan small-scale business entrepreneurs has opened economic cooperation opportunities between the two states.

According to most respondents from FGDs, Kenyan citizens have benefitted from employment opportunities in the Kenya-France economic ties, besides the government gaining from payment of corporate taxes from French firms and manufacturing utility household goods. They further noted that French firms' and investors' innovation of ideas was a key industry driver both in the goods and services sectors. They observed that

France had superior technology as compared to Kenyan producers; hence, French companies' transfer of technology that Kenyan investors and entrepreneurs later embraced greatly affected the local competitiveness and productivity of Kenya's locally manufactured products.

Divakaran et al. (2018) postulate that French investors and entrepreneurs have primarily benefitted from ministerial agreements involving the two states. French investments broadly comprise technology transfer from French companies into the Kenyan market. The agreement on clean energy, for instance, paved the way for French firms that produce clean energy entering into the Kenyan market. This saw the Alten Africa firm establishing a solar energy plant in Kenya in 2019, alongside other French companies involved in supplying and installing smaller units of different forms of clean energy within Kenya. Other forms of French technology are also used in manufacturing, telecommunications, and the services sector, whose rise is highly dependable on innovative initiatives.

This study argues that on the economic and technical front, the collaboration between Kenya and France in various sectors of economy, culture, and politics has immensely benefitted the former through the transfer of technology, equipment, and training since France is a significant power in the European Union. France is one of the key founders and financiers of the European Union; she has considerable influence on the European Commission institutions' decisions. Thus, Kenya relies on France and other European Union members in prevailing against other countries, to advance her economic influence in the region.

In coordinating France's investment and influence abroad, including in African countries such as Kenya, with the merger between UBIFRANCE and France Agency to create Business France, an informant at the French embassy in Nairobi asserted that:

This agency has been useful to Kenya in networking public-private partnerships. The agency fosters export growth by small and middle-sized enterprises and companies; it has mainly benefited by finding commercial partners in Kenya's target markets. As a result, French firms signed trading agreements and generated a sustainable increase in exports (Field interview with a key informant at the Embassy of France, Nairobi offices, 13th February 2020).

According to Ministère de l'Europe et des Affaires étrangères (2019), Business France advises and supports French investors in making decisions in implementing their projects throughout besides aiding French firms' network with regional partners in Kenya and within the COMESA region. Business France is instrumental in promoting French companies and business image branding in Kenya while advertising France as an essential commerce destination. Business France suggests and implements strategies that promote France and her territories while informing channels of interest in various Kenyan counties. In Kenya, Business France oversees all commercial interests while extending international cooperation within the realm of its remit while participating where necessary.

In 2016, France signed five pacts that would inject close to 250 million Euros into Kenya's economy. President Uhuru Kenyatta of Kenya and President Francois Hollande of France at the Elyse Palace in Paris signed the pacts. The agreement signed covered infrastructure projects, explicitly financing the last mile connections program, 2000 road program phase 2, Meru wind farm, and Ruiru II dam water supply project.

France's clean energy interests have translated into the arrival of clean energy-related companies in Kenya, such as the EDF group, a French electric utility company. It is a global leader in low carbon energy also Sun culture, a technology company that designs and sells solar-powered water pumps and customized irrigation systems in Kenya, is part of the French company's EFD group. Rubis Energie is yet another French company that has entered the Kenyan energy Market, having bought out Kobil and Kenol Kenyan oil companies. Air France rejoined the Kenya market in 2017 after an 18-year absence.

French Ambassador to Kenya Antine Sivan said that France is proud of her privileged dialogue and relations with Kenya, noting that;

We are both committed to a strong economic partnership and close political engagement for peace and stability in the region of great eastern Africa.

In summary, the company Societe Bic, a French pen manufacturer, has been in Kenya for many decades currently through Haco, a local producer. Afribon, is a French company that manufactures food fragrances, flowers, cosmetics, and beverages in Kenya. Another French company BAYER East Africa is based in Mathare, Nairobi, and manufactures pharmaceuticals. Peugeot automobile company opened its assembling plant in Thika, Kenya, in 2019. As of 2019, Rubis Energies, a French energy firm, controlled a fifth of Kenya's petroleum market, equivalent to 20.1%, followed by the Total energy firm with 13.2%. The two French companies control a third of Kenya's energy market. In 2017, Total bought off Gulf African petroleum, thus strengthening its position in the Kenyan energy market.

In underscoring the importance of coordinated economic and commercial approach by states towards their recipients. The Ministère de l'Europe et des Affaires étrangères (2018) takes note of the establishment of Business France as a national agency that supports the global development of France's economy, with the agency's mandate being the promotion of an increase in export by French businesses and companies, besides enhancing and supporting international investment in France. The agency thus promotes France's companies, nationwide attractiveness, commercial image, and as an investment partner. Kombo (2019) further notes that Business France, the French Chamber of Commerce in Kenya, is also involved in facilitating French entrepreneurs and companies to set up their developmental projects in Kenya and enhancing exchanges and collaborations towards business avenues in Franco-Kenyan ties.

In illustrating closer Franco-Kenya ties on the economic front, the KLM airlines vice-president Justine de Guerre who acts in the capacity of executive director of the French Chamber of commerce in Kenya held that:

Kenya has proceeded over South Africa as the lucrative location for French businesses and companies looking to conquer Anglophone markets. A slowdown in the continent's largest Anglophone economies in Nigeria and South Africa had resulted in many French enterprises looking for a more stable Anglophone base. In addition, Kenya is also attracting interest from various French companies already existing in Africa that did not show any sign of previous interest in Anglophone markets. Besides, even companies and firms that had no prior experience at all in operating in Africa are showing interest in Kenya ([www.youtube](#) interview retrieved 14 April 2020).

France-Kenyan relations seem to have drastically grown very strong during the Kenyan Jubilee regime, particularly from 2017 to 2020. This is a result of the visit of the

president of France, Emanuel Macron, in 2017. This was the first time in Kenyan history for the president of France to visit Kenya since independence. One could argue that the French cultural activities in Kenya should have long resulted in this severe engagement. France's president had to promote both the economic, political, and cultural aspirations of France in Kenya. During the visit, he emphasized the need to strengthen ties between France and Kenya for mutual security, infrastructure, education, environment, energy, and petroleum enhancement. Other stakeholders, such as the French Gaming School director, Rubika, who later signed a partnership with the Nairobi-based African Digital Media Institute, accompanied him. The partnership was to promote creative and technical skills among the youth in Kenya. This was another avenue of promoting French cultural diplomacy. The Director of AFD, who had accompanied president Macron, supported the partnership. The Director of Rubika School echoed the fact that Kenya was a market they wanted to tap, influence culturally and economically besides learning from it.

The French president took advantage of the United Nations' One Planet summit held in March 2017 to visit Kenya and other East African states to advance his foreign policy of development assistance to Africa. The policy's pillars include: fighting climate change and protecting the environment; human development and gender equality; economic development for social progress; and boosting human rights, stability, and peace. He pledged 500 million Euros at the summit to fight climate change and boost infrastructural development projects, namely; renewable energy projects, protection of African ecosystems, and infrastructure development. He used the visit to Kenya to nurture strong cultural relations with the hope that these cultural and personal connections would lead to

increased trade, business and investment for France. He commended Kenya for investing in renewable energy sources and noted that 75% of Kenya's energy was derived from renewable sources. Emanuel Macron also signed a 1.6 million Euro contract with a French construction company, Vinci, to build a highway from Nairobi to Mau Summit and a 70 million Euro contract for the construction of a solar power plant (Fowler, 2019:1-4).

In October 2020, President Uhuru Kenyatta went to Paris to attend the Africa-France summit, where he had the opportunity to meet President Emanuel Macron again. They were able to sign three bilateral agreements that consisted of public-private partnerships (PPP) for the construction of the Nairobi-Nakuru Mau Summit highway signed between KenHA and Vinci concessions, development of the Nairobi Central Business District (CBD) to Jomo Kenyatta International Airport (JKIA) commuter railway line; and the 400kV Menengai-Rongai electricity transmission line.

French cultural diplomacy record in Kenya was tainted by France's negative political image, resulting from her company's involvement in corrupt deals that enhanced Kenya's bad governance. As it were, the disputed 2017 Kenya general elections brought to the limelight the shady deals of one of the French companies. The supreme court of Kenya, which nullified Kenya's presidential elections held on August 8th 2017, found a French company named Idemic securities ltd, whose last name was Safran Morpho, at the centre of the controversies surrounding the disputed election results. The court blacklisted Idemic Securities Ltd and barred the company from operating in Kenya for ten years. Endemic had supplied voter registration kits to the Independent Electoral and Boundaries

Commission (IEBC) at the cost of Kshs.10 billion, yet the biometric kits malfunctioned during the general elections. The same company had also won a tender worth Kshs.6 billion for the Huduma Namba registration, whose purpose was to create and manage a central master population database. This was to be a single source of information on any citizen in Kenya (IFES, 2017).

In December 2016, the IEBC advertised a tender for KIEMS, which closed on February 2, 2017. Safran Morpho was awarded the tender. Other competitors, namely; Kenya-based Digital Limited, Kenya-based Africa Infrastructure Development Company, and South Africa-based Big Kardop Company, went to court accusing Safran Morpho of colluding with IEBC for the tender. The court nullified the contract's award to Safran Morpho, and PPARB ruled that IEBC should award the tender to Gemalto SA. However, IEBC unilaterally went against the ruling and gave the tender back to Safran Morpho. It was this company accused of colluding with the Jubilee government to rigged elections. KIEMS was designed to integrate biometric voter registration (BVR), biometric voter identification (EVI), electronic results transmission (RTS), and candidate registration systems. At that time, Mr. Wafula Chebukati, the IEBC chair, said that Safran Morpho was chosen because it would deliver the 45,000 KIEMS on time (IFES, 2017). The confusion and bitterness that followed the 2017 general election's nullification painted France negatively in the Kenyan public media, posing a challenge to French cultural diplomacy.

France has a lot to overcome in order to succeed in her cultural diplomacy pursuit. From an Alliance Francoise interview, it was observed that French cultural diplomacy suffers

from a lack of effective coordination. An informant held that among the French cultural actors in Kenya:

Coordination is lacking at the embassy because some French organizations are independent and manage their budgets within defined goals. Therefore, their goals may not resonate with the French Republic's intended cultural policy goal. As a result, there have been overlapping, duplications, and clashes of cultural activities advocated by the embassy, Alliance Française, and other French organizations working in Kenya (Key informant interview at Alliance Française, Nairobi, on 6th March 2020).

As Domański (2016) holds, for a state to be effective in cultural diplomacy's soft power, it must ensure effective coordination beyond government institutions such as national cultural institutes and ministries. The channel should factor in non-state actors operating in the recipient states at regional and local levels. Cultural diplomacy at a crossroads (2019) further depicts that a nation projecting cultural diplomacy may fall into the problem of developing a coordinated approach to cultural policy if it does not focus on the adoption of joint government strategies. Apart from conceptualizing what states foreign policy must entail, the broad aspect of actors and policy formulators might strain, hinder, or even undermine the projection of states' culture beyond their borders.

On the other hand, emphasizing cultural coordination, Goff (2017) argues that there is a need for involving, from the onset, all cultural operatives in the co-curation and co-creation of products and services, such as organizing film festivals laboratories and fairs. These could help create a sense of partnership of initiatives and projects, something that is a fundamental pillar for cultural diplomacy success. However, no one preferred strategy exists to project culture in foreign nations; a multi-dimensional approach is needed. Over and above, state interests define the importance of emphasizing cultural

diplomacy, for example, whether it is essential for a state to emphasize security or economic cooperation over culture in the recipient state.

This study argues that diplomats represent their respective states' national interests to successfully manage bilateral cultural relations and, at the same time, be sensitive to the host's cultural beliefs and attitudes. This allows smooth cultural cooperation that facilitates adequate nation branding while elevating both national cultural practices for mutual benefit. However, their unwillingness to cultivate cross-cultural relationships abroad by France and the reluctance in establishing proper dialogue have led to her little influence on decision-makers in the host countries. Bilateral cultural cooperation can be positive or negative, depending on people's sensitivity and respect for other cultural groups.

This study also argues that the multiple actors involved in promoting French cultural diplomacy in Kenya have relegated the French government policy less vividly. French NGOs, independent think tanks, and commercial entities attract a broader audience based on their operations at the local level. This makes it easy for them to influence the Kenyan population, contrary to a structured French cultural diplomacy strategy used by the French embassy to target the masses, which may be slow, and with all manner of red tape, so as not to bridge cordial diplomatic relations between the two states.

The practice of cultural diplomacy currently involves many formal and informal actors, resulting in profound challenges. The ever-changing dimension of cultural diplomacy has resulted in difficulties for Kenya and France to relate in a constructive cultural, diplomatic structure. The respondents in this study noted further held that the new

cultural diplomacy trends included aspects of cultural diplomacy that don't have a bearing on the two countries' foreign policy or national interests. For example, celebrities like footballers, musicians, and artists, Kenyan and French. For a fact, advanced cultural diplomacy is not something that is predetermined and pre-packaged for the recipient audience or foreign policy goals.

4.2 Education as a tool of French Cultural Diplomacy Towards Kenya

Education is a tool embraced by many states internationally in their efforts to entrench cultural diplomacy. This is because education is a fundamental human right and a determinant of social mobility. Actors recognize it as a decisive agent of persuasion and attraction in the international arena. Education is a medium used by dominant states to attract people from dominated states to develop interests in the language and culture of the people who are the funders of the education programs. Usually, exchange programs and scholarships to pursue university education are the means through which domineering states advance their cultural diplomacy and soft power to the people in dominated states. Exchange programs facilitate thousands of foreign trainers, professionals, students, and scholars to communicate with people and unconsciously and informally disseminate the culture and language of the states that advance their soft power.

Exchange programs enhance the free flow of ideas, values, and culture of the host country. The crucial role of education and intellectual exchange in international relations has been defined by the concept of soft power over time. Soft utilizes the strength of ideas and culture to influence people's worldview. Higher education has emerged as a

significant instrument of soft power because university graduates and scholars play a considerable role in diplomacy. France has consistently put education forward in her agenda of cultural diplomacy in Kenya (Erdogan, 2021).

Rajab (2019) notes that Alliance Française, in partnership with Campus France, provides academic advice concerning different courses, alongside supporting learners who need financial support from France's government. This has resulted in France being the most preferred destination for higher education by Kenyan learners. It is approximated that in 2016, about fifty-two Kenyan students benefitted from this program.

One interviewee at the French embassy revealed that:

The Department of Cultural Action and Cooperation (DCAC) cooperates with the campus France office in Nairobi to enhance higher learning in France and international student services. While operating under the French embassy in Kenya, in collaboration with Alliance Française, the Campus France office assists learners who wish to advance their studies in French territories. It also provides other support like offering career advice, university admission procedures in France, and visa applications, alongside finding affordable accommodation, enabling contact between French and Kenyan universities into getting to agreements in facilitating learners' mobility, where these services are offered free of charge (Interview with a key informant at the Embassy of France, Nairobi offices, on 13th February 2020).

In agreement with this, some respondents noted that campus France was instrumental in securing scholarships for them.

Additionally, three French research organizations operate in Kenya. They include French Institute for Research in Africa, (IFRA), a branch of International Agricultural Research Centre for Development, (CIRAD1), and a branch of Research Institute for Development, (IRD). French and Kenyan governments have entered into several bilateral agreements that form the basis of exchange programs between universities in France and those in

Kenya. Most research programs are in the fields of archaeology, chemistry, social sciences, palaeontology, linguistics, information and communication technology, and engineering. In 2009, there was a comprehensive Memorandum of Understanding between the Kenyan Ministry of Higher Education, Science and Technology (MoHEST) and the three French research institutes: IFRA, CIRAD, IRD, and the Embassy of France in Kenya (www.ifra.org, accessed April 2020).

The French Institute for Research in Africa (**IFRA**) in Nairobi was established in the last 35 years. It runs and coordinates multi-disciplinary research activities in social sciences in East Africa, where Kenya is a big beneficiary. Its key objective is to disseminate knowledge in social sciences and provide training and research capacity for French and East African researchers. Similarly, it strengthens institutional cooperation between French and East African academicians. As a sign of cultural, diplomatic dialogue, IFRA's library was merged with the BIEA library in 2009, and this has facilitated access to several collections in either English or French. The merged library houses more than 15,000 books and 60,000 periodicals, with more than 200 theses and press reviews that can be found on its 150 meters square floor (www.ifra.org, accessed April 2020).

The French Embassy supports Kenyan students by awarding Ph.D. scholarships in France. It also organizes local training sessions for students interested in studying in France. The French Embassy annually offers scholarships to Kenyan students to pursue master's and PhDs in universities in France. In 2018, through its embassy in Nairobi, the French government-sponsored ten Kenyan students to study in France. This strategy aims at enhancing Kenyan citizens' capacity, primarily through cultural cooperation, but

equally provides an opportunity for France to create a Kenyan elite society with a French liking. While these scholars pursue their studies in France, they also experience and interact with first-hand French culture, adopting French values and ideologies. The scholarships are offered through different channels, either by the French government through its embassy in Kenya or linkages and collaborations between Kenyan universities and France-based universities where they create a memorandum of understanding, for example, the one that exists between Kenyatta University and Nepal University (French Embassy Newsletter 2019).

In addition, since March 2019, the Embassy of France in Kenya has been running a program called UDIP (Upgrading Diploma for Industry), a training program tailor-made to equip students with state of the art in information and communication technology for industrial needs. This program, funded by the French Ministry of Europe and Foreign Affairs, is one of the flagships in Franco-Kenyan educational relations, a product of cooperation in the Franco-Kenyan roadmap for university partnerships, innovations, research, and technical Vocational education and Training (TVET). It was signed on March 13th, 2019, during President Emmanuel Macron's state visit to Kenya. The objective of UDIP is to support the reform of curricula in three priority fields of mechanical, electrical, and biomedical engineering to adjust their content to the needs of the Kenyan market.

At least 30 teachers from the Technical universities of Kenya (Nairobi and Mombasa) and three national polytechnics in Nyeri, Kisumu, and Kabete took part in the training. The training philosophy was to promote project-based pedagogy and innovative teaching

methods. The teachers took practical lessons on equipment, for example, robots, 3D printers, and laser cutting devices, to replicate their classroom learnings. The trainers were identified from Lake Hub and Fab Lab institutions based on innovative technologies and located in Kisumu, Kenya. The French Research organization Universcience selected these two institutions as their liaison centres in Kenya (French Embassy Newsletter 2019).

Based on statistical data by the Kenyan Ministry of Foreign Affairs, ten students are sponsored by the French government to pursue courses in France annually. The French embassy in Kenya also organizes local training sessions conducted by French experts by financing Franco-Kenyan research works. The French language curriculum of the Kenyan secondary school is a prequalifying determinant to acquire government scholarships to France. In addition, tens of Kenyan students also join French tertiary institutions under self-sponsored programs (GoK report, 2019). Although this may be seen as a way of promoting education in Kenya, one can argue that it is an advancement from mere learning of the French language to soft power influence. The students who benefit from these programs have to be exposed to both the French language and culture. This is contrary to the past, when the participants' French language programs and cultural events were conducted with no guaranteed prospects. In 2018, the Kenyan Ministry of Foreign Affairs recorded twenty students who joined universities in France under the self-sponsored programs.

Solomon (2014) reinforces that French education influence as an instrument of soft power entails enhancing the French language and French-supported academic research

globally as a strategy to improve mutual understanding with foreign states and equally enact foreign policies. Kenyatta University and Maseno University are part of the Universities Agency of Francophone (AUF). At the same time, the Kenya Association of Teachers of French (KATF) is an acclaimed member of the international board of Teachers of French and the International Federation of Teachers of French (FIPF).

In Kenya, the French Embassy supported Kenyatta University (KU) in creating a resource and training centre that was dubbed the Centre for French Teaching and Documentation (CFTD). Mr M. Cyril Gérardon, the French Head of Cultural Affairs in Kenya, officially opened the centre in 2008 when the first training session was initiated. The CFTD once again organized a capacity-building workshop for high school (French Language Teachers) FLE teachers, which took place from 19th to 23rd August 2012. The centre was designed to train over 150 primary and secondary school teachers annually. It was noted that the valuable collaboration of the Kenya Association of Teachers of French (KATF) made it more comfortable in mobilizing participants (Ojiambo et al., 2012).

According to the French Embassy in Nairobi (2019), the best performing French graduate schools have been touring Kenya during the Kenya Day program. The Kenya Day program between 2014 and 2018 supported the interaction of various institutions, involving over 3,000 students from over 40 schools spread across the country. In 2016, various university meetings and collaborations were also initiated in Kenya. This was largely to create a more in-depth understanding of the French language and culture among the established scholars as well as young scholars between the two nations.

4.2.1 Alliance Françoise

In Kenya, French cultural relations in the colonial era set off with the establishment of Alliance Française de Nairobi in 1949. The Alliance Française is situated in the Centre of Nairobi Central Business District. It is next to the University of Nairobi's Main Campus. The Alliance Française offers holistic programs and organizes annual activities that promote local and international arts and creativity. Nonetheless, it supports the production and presentation of artistic works that reflect the diversity of contemporary culture. It also supports performing arts, events, exhibitions, seminars, and other cultural activities that promote the French language and culture. The inclusion of French languages in the secondary school national curriculum began in the colonial period and expanded in the independence era. The national schools were the first to adopt the French language in their curriculum. Later, it spread to provincial schools (currently, different county schools) (Maloba, 2019:1). The French language introduction in the school curriculum created the need for an association of teachers teaching the French language. In 1956, the French Consul in Nairobi, Mr. A.C. Morand, attempted to promote the French language by offering books written in French to the Royal Technical College (Gerits, 2018).

Through its Alliance Française facility, France government has enhanced the French language's spread (Guillot, 2012). Alliance Française deals with providing teaching materials to schools and organizing francophone events in the country. It thus promotes French language learning by organizing Franco-fun shows, theatre festivals, TV shows, and French days. The Alliance Française also deals with continuous training and

retraining of teachers of the French language. This training takes place both in France and in Kenya. The facility as well coordinates distance-learning programs for the French language in the country. This organization is a language and cultural relations agency founded in 1883 in Paris by great humanists Louis Pasteur and Jules Verne to promote and teach the French language worldwide. It has developed into a global network in 135 countries. This agency fosters friendships between people worldwide by promoting the French language and culture. Alliance Francaise is the only accredited international and professional French language certification institution in Kenya. It is also the only certified institution in Kenya for French translations (<https://ke.ambafrance.org/The-alliance-Francaise-in-Kenya>).

4.2.2 Kenya Association of Teachers of French (KATF)

In 1961, the Kenya Association of Teachers of French (KATF) was officially established. This teachers' association had the following objectives; to share everyday experiences in teaching and learning French in Kenya; to select and develop bonds, solidarity, and exchanges within French teachers' networks/associations globally. Also, work in close cooperation with the Ministry of Education, Kenya Institute of Education (KIE), Kenya National Examinations Council (KNEC), Teachers Service Commission, universities, the Alliance Francaise network, and the Embassy of France. Promote the French language and education for teachers of French, organise, and participate in festivals and exhibitions. For example, french days and francophone week popularize Francophone in Kenya (Waller, 2009).

Once Kenya became a republic in 1963, the French language in the educational system was expanded. It then became a point of contact through which French-Kenyan cultural relations began to develop. The objective of expanding the French language in Kenya's academic curriculum was based on the following premises: enhancing understanding and respect for the cultures of the people of France, initiating and fostering interstate relations between France and Kenya, and establishing a framework in which France would promote technology and science in Kenya (Chokah, 2013: 2).

On the contrary, France has been a major pillar of multilateralism. In 2019, she and Germany launched the Alliance for Multilateralism to bring together like-minded actors to reconcile their national interests and defend global commons for humanity. The Alliance addresses human rights, international and humanitarian law, cyberspace, future technologies, disarmament, arms control, global public goods, and strengthening international institutions. France has been committed to revitalizing and strengthening multilateralism. Indeed, she has been solid in promoting the European Union and disburses most of her international aid through the Union. This concentration on multilateralism has reduced France's focus on developing her cultural diplomacy in Kenya and other Anglophone countries.

4.2.3 French Language

The promotion of the French language has been a significant output in Franco-Kenyan cultural relations. Although, there are many foreign languages taught in Kenya, such as Arabic, Chinese, German, Korean and French. For over sixty years, French has been and remains the most popular foreign language taught in schools, colleges, and universities.

Similarly, it is a language that professionals and business people go out of their way to learn for purposes of aspirations and ambitions.

French was introduced in the Kenya Defence Force in 2002. The need to teach French to the country's armed force resulted from the Kenya Defence Force's increased involvement in United Nations Peace Keeping operations in French-speaking African countries in West and Central Africa. Since 2002, about 50 Kenyan soldiers learn French annually. The French Military Mission has also enhanced regular exchange programs between French Naval forces and Kenyan Naval forces. French Naval ships often dock in Kenya's city of Mombasa, and thus the Kenyan Navy gets opportunities to train together with their French counterparts. Therefore, the French language becomes a medium through which informal relations are built, which expands French-Kenyan military relations. Under the auspices of the French Military of Defence and the Directorate of Military Cooperation, which is one of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs departments, the French Military Mission provides concrete support to the Kenyan Defence Force.

On 1st October 2020, the Director of the DEFESHE, the French defence attaché, handed over a hundred books in French to the DEFESHE instructors in Lang'ata barracks to teach the French language to the Kenya Defence Force. He also inaugurated a new classroom for the teaching of the French language.

In 2006, 2,271 students studying the French language were examined for the Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education by the country's national examinations body. During

the same 2006, 1,500 students studied for a bachelor's degree in the French language at Kenyatta University, University of Nairobi, Moi University and Egerton University. At the Alliance Francaise, the same year, 6000 students were studying French in all its centres in the Country.

By 2007, about 20,000 students in 330 Kenyan secondary schools were learning French. In the same year, 2,215 students sat for national examinations of the French language to attain the Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education. In 2009, there were, on average, 30,000 students learning the French language in 350 secondary schools in Kenya; 2,216 students sat for the French-language national examination at the Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education level in the same year.

The Alliance Francaise, by 2008, had 5000 students learning the French language in its centres in Nairobi, Mombasa, Kisumu, and Eldoret. The Nairobi centre has the largest population of students studying French in Africa. The Mombasa centre was opened in 1975, and on average, 700 students learn French annually in this centre. The Eldoret Alliance Francaise centre was opened in 2002 and, on average, enrolls 200 students yearly for French language lessons. On average, the Kisumu centre, which opened in 2009, enrolls 135 students every year in its French-language classes.

Alliance Francaise in Kenya has highly qualified and experienced teachers who utilize modern teaching methods and equipment, such as the smartboard, to teach the French language to its clients. The agency has a multi-media library equipped with seven TV VIDEO/DVD points from where students watch a wide range of films on learning the

French language and entertainment. Alliance Française has over 4,000 registered members who visit the facility periodically. The library also houses 18,000 books in the Fruage, 1500 DVDs, 500 music, CDs, French magazines, and audiobooks. This is in addition to free access to a digital library alongside an online catalogue. The library users listen to French music, watch films read French literature, and access CD-ROMs for learning. As they do this, they closely interact with unique French cultures, for example, fashion expressions. This creates a positive image of France, which is the intention of cultural diplomacy and soft power (<https://ke.ambafrance.org/The-alliance-Francaise-in-Kenya>).

According to Lane (2013), Alliance Française has developed a set of courses in its catalogue that offer either certificates or diplomas to satisfy various Kenyan categories of learners interested in studying the French language. The agency provides tailor-made certifications in the French language, including translation certifications that enhance the level of engagement with other Francophone nationals. Alliance Française offers internationally recognized diplomas for non-francophone nationals, which are referred to either as DELF or DALF. These certificates measure mastery of the French language by non-francophone nationals. The Ministry of Education of France usually awards the certificates through Alliance Française. He further notes that the Alliance Française continues to widen the scope of the courses offered, with the growing demand for French use in the professional sector.

One critical informant at Alliance Française further reported that:

As of 2018, Alliance Française Nairobi stood out as one of the largest hosting networks in the African continent that enhanced the French culture and language. The institution also provided a level ground for experiencing the French culture that is instrumental in meeting the French government's objective while pursuing projects in Kenya aimed at social-economic development, such as, education funding. Through capacity-building initiatives, the French diplomats' institute provided teachers with digital technology training to enhance effective teaching (Key informant interview at Alliance Française, Nairobi on 6th March 2020).

Since 2016, Alliance Française in Mombasa has been conducting French classes from levels A 1 to C2. The majority of the learners stop at A1 and B1 levels. In contrast, C2 is the highest level of proficiency in the French language. The Alliance Française Mombasa is accredited to provide certification of the mastery of the French language, that is, the International Certificate in French Language (DELFDALF). The number of students sitting for this exam in Kenya has increased considerably from 56 in 2006 to more than 400 in the 2009 examination. By 2009, 50 teachers had passed the international examination known as DALF C1 and were preparing for C2, which would equate them to the French native speakers' level (<https://ke.ambafrance.org/the-alliance-francaise-in-kenya>).

French language teachers receive regular in-service training workshops and seminars at the Alliance Française to equip them with new knowledge of the French language changing trends, including introducing new French vocabularies (Diane Reay, 2010). These efforts shape the French language teaching, making it a popular language among learners.

Rajab (2019) noted that there were over 400 teachers of the French languages in Kenya. By the end of 2018, over 31,000 secondary school learners had attended French lessons, while over 7,000 learners were actively taking French language programs in higher education institutions. He further observed that 650 learners from various fifty-three nationalities attended the French Lyce School in Nairobi.

Besides French being taught in schools, it was also incorporated into extra curriculum activities such as drama, poetry, and public speaking, as an item of competition during the annual Kenya music festivals, held in the 2nd term of the Kenyan schooling calendar. This has continuously raised the profile of the French language vis-a-vis other foreign languages making French compete side by side with English poems and Kiswahili *shairi* (poems). Let's go to France' is another annual national contest organized by the Linguistic Cooperation Bureau, which gives students another opportunity to win a memorable trip to France and other Francophone countries.

Annually, the French government grants the best actors in the French language during the National Drama and Music Festivals a one-month visit to France and its territories to experience French culture. These efforts aim to encourage French beginners to enhance their mastery of the French language. Thus, the French language has gained prominence among learners in various Kenyan secondary schools. In her annual communication in the *Ufaransa Leo* newsletter in 2009, the ambassador of France to Kenya observed:

Each year, the best actor and best actress in the French plays category and the best public speaker in the French language category are awarded a one-month linguistic and cultural stay in France. Other competitors also get other valuable awards such as French dictionaries, French books, t-shirts, stickers, and pens marked *oui Je Pare Francais* (I speak French).

From the FGDs, it emerged that:

The Embassy of France that brought together both teachers and students to have a unique French language and culture experience organized various forums. In addition, in creating capacity for teachers of French, who reported that there is a collaboration between the linguistic and cultural department and the universities that offers free training for the Kenyan teachers of French, under the umbrella of the Kenya Association of Teachers of French (KATF), to equip teachers with international teaching standards of the French language. This is done as in-service training to capture the new trends developed in the French language, including new vocabularies and expressions (FGD interview at Alliance Française, Nairobi on 6th March 2020).

Further, a key informant at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs observed that:

There was a joint initiative between the Kenyan Ministry of Education and the French Embassy to facilitate the recruitment of 47 French teachers in the elementary cycle (Field interview with Deputy Director of Cultural Diplomacy, MFA offices on 27th February 2020).

According to the Kenya National Examination Council (KNEC), over the last 18 years from 2000, the number of candidates who took French in KNEC examinations annually ranges from 2,500 to 3,100 (not including those who drop the subject at form 2 or 3). There are also those in tertiary institutions and even in private primary schools, which could bring the number to 5000 at any given time in the year (Collard, 2014).

The Lycee Denis Diderot School is an excellent French learning centre in Nairobi, Kenya. It is a member of a unique worldwide system of 410 French language excellent schools approved by the Ministry of National Education of France. The Lycee Denis Diderot School in Nairobi hosts 549 students from 54 different countries.

The popularization of the French language and culture in Kenya has had critical challenges due to government educational policy frameworks. Whereas French has been taught in Kenyan schools since independence, there has been limited initiative from the

Kenya government to sensitize the citizens on the importance of the French language. Thus, it has been the goodwill of school heads/principals to introduce French into schools instead of the ministry directives. Indeed, the introduction of subject clusters by the Ministry of Education in secondary schools has had a substantial negative impact on the teaching and learning of the French language. French in the clustering system has been placed in the same category as other foreign languages and critical subjects, for example, German, Arabic, sign language, music, and business studies.

Similarly, a student who opts for agriculture or fine arts may not have a chance to choose French. The clustering result is that thousands of students interested in the French language have been locked out. Thus, not every student ends up doing French as an examinable subject at the end of his or her secondary education. Cumulatively, this has had a negative impact on the spread of the French language and culture in Kenya (Chokah, 2013:2).

Initially, teachers of the French language were given a scholarship of up to one year to pursue French language studies in France and feel the French culture. This funding ended and now teachers of French from universities and diploma colleges teach French in schools without being exposed to the French socio-cultural and linguistic environment. Moreover, these teachers would have only covered 300-350 hours of French instruction in a school year, which is inadequate. These teachers also do not receive in-service training on new French teaching trends and learning as a foreign language. This ultimately hampered France's objective of using the French language as a tool of cultural diplomacy (Mulwa et al., 2015:240).

4.3 Cultural Activities and French Cultural Diplomacy towards Kenya

Kenyans are exposed to France's art industry in various forms, as staged in the theatre of Alliance Française, Kenya cinema, and the national theatre. They have embraced unique French cultural displays such as Baltic Sounds French for contemporary music and France Danse for contemporary ballet and French poetry and narratives. In addition, other cultural performing arts such as circus, street arts, theatre, puppetry, and contemporary music have been popularized. These works of art enhance Kenyan interaction with the French cultural worldview.

Walkley (2018) argued that cultural diversity recognition is the second French cultural diplomacy priority, which implies embracing another state's cultural wealth, besides promoting French culture overseas without eliminating the local cultures. Exchange programs are usually organized, making artists travel between states to showcase their talent and other critical aspects of their culture. France's intention in Kenya is to make the people appreciate and understand the French culture, besides maintaining their own cultural beliefs, practices, and values. This, therefore, shows that France acknowledges local culture and would want to see it preserved.

The Cross Years festivals held in Kenya have offered opportunities to co-organize different visual and performing arts. Walkley further noted that foreign cultural seasons organized in France disseminate the creativity of the guest countries. The creation of a Kenya week in France, for instance, provides an opportunity to display Kenyan cultures in Paris through such ventures as promoting the Kenyan attire (*the kanga*), which has

been successfully showcased as a Kenyan trademark abroad through the courtesy of cultural cooperation and diversity.

France provides expertise in the audio-visual and cultural sectors, shared among the Ministry for Information, Communications and Sports Heritage and Culture, through technical support to strengthen policies and institutional capacities to establish these sectors. The policies aim to enhance artistic exchanges through cooperation with developing states. French institutions play a crucial role in cultural partnership and cooperation where they act as technical experts and facilitators abroad (Walkley, 2018).

The French theatre at the Alliance Française plays an instrumental role in promoting French visual and performing art by staging French plays, songs, films, and cinema. The visual and performing arts exposed Kenyan French speakers to French culture's fullness: fashion, design, and cuisine.

In creating appeal through cultural diplomacy in theatre, the best artist and first runners up during the French play competition conducted annually in secondary schools and tertiary institutions where French is taught are awarded holidays either in France or in one of the francophone islands. A trip fully paid for by the French embassy to experience the French culture.

Belfiore (2016) emphasizes enhancing theatre within French institutes since it provides a classic environment to export French cultures to foreign audiences. Indeed, whatever is staged leaves a permanent impression on the audience. Diffusion of French culture to Kenya is achieved through theatre, which is a collective art that provides a culture that

stores and protects intrinsic French cultural values. Any theatrical performance staged establishes cultural interaction with the viewers, even after its conclusion. Thus, a theatre is important in the French school curriculum since it provides a unique platform for cultural expression in language and other art forms. In this light, annually, the French embassy awards best actors in the Kenya Secondary Schools and Tertiary institutions French drama festival with a vocation to France.

The display of French art in both visual and performing arts remains the primary objective of France's national interest and foreign policy goal. However, through cultural cooperation, the promotion of Kenyan cultures and values through art has also been witnessed. This has helped to strengthen the Kenyan culture while promoting art to have an economic value, which explains why cultural exchange programs are organized between the two nations.

Alliance Francaise is the major player in promoting French culture in Kenya. The agency hosts many Kenyan artists and indirectly influences them to embrace French cultural ideals. The Alliance Francaise supports the Ministry of Culture and Social Services and the Ministry of Information by facilitating policy development to establish strong cultural growth pillars. Through the Alliance Francaise, France helps in film production for Kenyan theatre professionals. The agency creates avenues to incorporate French cultural values in Kenyan theatre, film, and other cultural activities. France funds cultural activities in Kenya through a particular grant program called the Social Development Fund (SFD), founded in 2001 to subsidize AFD and other French funding agencies in the

country. Besides funding cultural activities and programs, SFD also supports health, water, sanitation, environment, governance, and human rights programs.

Paschalidis (2009) notes that French cultural centres link French culture and foreign publics. In these centres, diffusion of the French language and expressions penetrates the societies; culture is exported from theatre to the locale. Hence, French cultural centres' significance should be emphasized alongside the French embassy's other avenues, formal and non-formal, that showcase French cultural diplomacy. The author further adds that the French cultural institute presents the overall cultural achievements of the nation's branding, besides being a place for mitigating local or foreign citizens' curiosity about the French culture. Therefore, cultural institutions must provide civic education because they can function as actively informed and culturally noble units in the community.

An informant at the Department of Cultural Affairs in the Ministry of Sports, Culture, and Heritage observed that:

The embassy of France is not only interested in promoting her culture through the cultural institute. There has also been a recommendable achievement in strengthening various Kenyan cultures in art and music, in line with the Kenyan spirit of unity and diversity (Interview with an official at the Department of Cultural Affairs, MSCH offices, on 6th March 2020).

An informant corroborated this view at the Alliance Française who noted that:

The French cultural institute cooperates with the Kenyan government in different sectors such as theatre, music, visual arts, street arts, and dance. The Alliance Française Nairobi accommodates many Kenyan artists promoting unique Kenyan cultures, resulting in being one of Nairobi's busiest art (Key informant interview at Alliance Française, Nairobi, on 6th March 2020).

Another key informant at the French Embassy revealed that:

Cultural diplomacy, as applied by France in Kenya, contains varied approaches. The linguistic and cultural department was headed by an experienced cultural attaché, whose experience span was over 25 years in dealing with cultural issues within different French embassies in Africa. The French embassy has set up a linguistic and cultural department within the embassy that exclusively deals with French cultural affairs (Interview with a key informant at the Embassy of France, Nairobi offices, on 13th February 2020).

4.4 Media, Cuisine, Recreation, and Beauty Products

Media is a fundamental tool in the promotion of cultural diplomacy. States have used books, newsletters, website blogs, radio, and Television to advance their cultural diplomacy. For France, she has also perfected the art of media in stamping her cultural diplomacy on the international scene. They are equivalently using cinema as an important strategy in pursuing French cultural diplomacy.

Over time, Radio France has developed into a vibrant entertainment channel for Kenyans who have a keen interest in France and her culture. It airs its programs on FM, and one of the most popular programs is Bonjour culture, which is transmitted every Thursday at 8.30 pm. It is very informative on French culture, and it offers a classic selection of world music. In Nairobi, it is transmitted on frequency Y FM 89.9, while in Mombasa, it is transmitted on frequency Y FM 105.5. Radio France has been entertaining the Kenyan public since 2005, as the French government expanded its TV and radio channels; France24 and Radio France International, respectively the official French broadcasters. RFI aims to capture and sustain French speakers' attention in Kenya by offering them international news and entertainment in the French language and perspective. Following the discussions of a focused group, most respondents/ participants agreed that:

Listening to Radio France international and watching France24 TV enriched their French language vocabulary. In this light, they also learn French cultures, such as cuisine, fashion, and music (FGD interview at Alliance Française, Nairobi on 6th March 2020).

According to DeCarli (2010), French cultural diplomacy in the audio-visual field depends on two major international channels, including TV5 Monde, which broadcasts to over 220 million viewers. France 24 TV also broadcasts to close to 200 million viewers. The radio station RFI airs programs in the French language that have greatly impacted France's cultural diplomacy pursuit. He further notes that French cinema is instrumental in spreading the French culture, arguably second to Hollywood as the most widely distributed cinema globally. In realization of the vital role of mass media in advancing soft power, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of France facilitates the rollout of tailor-made French overseas productions, in conjunction with specialized agencies, for instance, Unifrance Films, TV France International, and the BEMF in association with the French cultural network and the France institute abroad. Therefore, France's overseas broadcasting is an important entity of her soft diplomacy policy to spread her culture and values abroad. This helps in sharing France's vision with the world, besides engaging in dialogue with other cultures.

Granted that the world is becoming increasingly localized through globalization, nations have embraced technologies in reaching and influencing foreign publics. This increases their appeal as they compete for more significant shares of likeness, of which France has not been left behind. Just as the UK uses mass media, that is BBC Radio and TV, and America uses CNN TV and Voice of America (VOA) Radio. In contrast, the Federal Republic of Germany uses DW TV and Radio, France, to promote her cultural

diplomacy, has embraced this frontier through mainstream media and social media in Kenya. According to Rajab (2019), the French Foreign Ministry's cultural digital communication strategy promotes dialogue with the French foreign public and civil society, provides local content for francophone overseas, and facilitates the diplomatic network terms of digital communication.

A key informant at the Alliance Française observed that:

Digital technology provides unique chances in enhancing French influence and brand. This is against an environment of increasingly stronger Anglophone nations and regional blocs with emerging powers that try to assert them through soft power. Over the years, French institute in Kenya has increased its capacity to establish a digital platform that gathers resources and publishes them under a given theme while offering communication avenues for events and entities (key informant interview at Alliance Française, Nairobi, on 6th March 2020).

Belfiore (2016) noted that France facilitates projects such as Afripedia, which provides Wikipedia content in collaboration with the French Institute (FI), and the Mondo blog site that comprises French-speaking bloggers, as part of the partnership between the French Institute and Radio France International (RFI). The Foreign Ministry of France's objective is on widening the provision of online training in French, whether for teachers (for instance, under the 100,000 Teachers for Africa's French project), professionals, tertiary institutions, and secondary schools, alongside establishing digital instruments that will enhance exchanges and contacts between French teachers. On the other hand, from 2002 to 2010, Kenya Broadcasting Company (KBC) offered French lessons for beginners in Kenya.

The influx of hotels by French business companies demonstrates French food and food habits in Kenya. By 2018, Accord Hotels, a multinational company that owns Movenpick Hotel and Fairmont the Norfolk, Ibis, and Pullman in Kenya, launched a four-star premium hotel in Gigiri. Movenpick Hotel and Residences was opened in Westlands, Nairobi, in April 2018. These hotels are frequented by the business and intellectual elites in Kenya and thus facilitate the spread of French wine and food styles into the Kenyan population. Indeed, these hotels promote French winning and dining habits. French champagne is likewise famous in Kenya. Since 2010 when Moet Hennessy liquor company set up a trade representative in Nairobi, the value of hard liquor imported from France shot up from \$35,000 (Kshs. 57.7 million) to \$3.03 million (Kshs.327 million) in 2018.

On the other hand, the value of wine imported from France into Kenya increased from \$1.87 (Kshs. 200 million) in 2010 to \$86400 (Kshs. 93.3 million) in 2018. Hennessy, a brandy, can only be grown and fermented in France. Likewise, the bubbly wine known as Champagne is fermented in France.

Additionally, French companies involved in beauty products have impacted Kenyans' taste for perfumes and fashion through brands like Clinique, Lancome, Sephora, and MAC cosmetics.

In response to the penetration of French cultural, diplomatic strategies in Kenya, one key informant at the department of culture in the Ministry of Culture and Heritage asserted that:

The French continue to use grassroots cultural diplomacy in Kenya through social media platforms and internet access, which provide enormous avenues for cross-cultural communication and partnership projects that promote collaborative recognition of cultural ambassadors. Besides setting up funds for supporting this kind of grassroots cultural diplomacy that may exist outside official governmental frameworks, it still needs a policy-supported environment to operate (Interview with an official at the Department of Culture, MSCH offices, on 6th March 2020).

In emphasizing the role of media as a crucial French strategy of cultural diplomacy, Waller (2009) views cultural diplomacy from the angle of the media, arguing it was a French invention from the end of the nineteenth century. This was done through government undertakings and collaboration with the media to communicate with other nations' information about themselves through soft means of power. The essential tools of cultural diplomacy included educational exchanges, exhibitions, language teaching, and presentations. Therefore, cultural diplomacy can advance national interest as a political tool.

Further, the French institute provides an important avenue where experienced Kenyan French speakers motivate beginners in the French language. In light of this, the institute organizes events such as 'The Night of Ideas' concurrently marked in Nairobi and other parts of the world annually, during the third week of January. This event aims to share and celebrate ideas, knowledge, and innovations.

The preceding discussion has presented various strategies that France has adopted in Kenya to advance her soft power. It has been revealed that language and education have been widely used as instruments of cultural diplomacy. The target audiences for French-language dissemination have been learning institutions, mainly secondary schools and

tertiary institutions. France's provision of education services was also adopted as a vital soft power strategy. The French school, French teaching at Alliance Française, French Embassy collaborating with KICD, awarding scholarships, and research collaborations were identified as key elements of education services facilitated by France.

Additionally, visual and performing arts were created as an avenue of cultural cooperation where France displayed her cultural values in Kenya through art while appreciating the Kenyan cultural diversity. The media has also played an instrumental role, that is, RFI and France 24 TV, besides digital media in advancing French cultural diplomacy. In addition, institutions and organizations have been used to project French cultural diplomacy.

4.5 Summary

This chapter has discussed strategies and regime change in French cultural diplomacy towards Kenya. The role of the French presidency, from Jacques Chirac to Emanuel Macron, in advancing her cultural diplomacy towards Kenya. The foregoing discussion explicitly demonstrated how the French adopted soft power approaches to penetrate Kenya's economic sphere and create an enabling environment for French international companies to launch, nurture, and perfect their business enterprises in Kenya.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the summary of research findings, conclusion, and recommendation. The sections are outlined according to the specific study objectives and the relevant research questions formulated to achieve the main study objective, examining French cultural diplomacy's soft power in Africa, the case of Kenya. To realize the objectives, exploratory and descriptive research designs were used. The exploratory design was used to analyse objectives two and three, while the descriptive design was employed in objectives one. This study was grounded on soft power and constructivism theories.

5.2 Summary of Findings and Conclusion

5.2.1 Summary of Findings

Three objectives guided this study; to evaluate the basis adopted by France in her cultural diplomacy towards Africa, to examine the issues that shaped the evolution of French Cultural diplomacy towards Kenya in the period 1963-1994, and to analyse the strategies adopted by France in her cultural diplomacy towards Kenya, 1995-2020. The study shows that French cultural diplomacy in francophone Africa was more pronounced in terms of strategies because the French language was the official language for most of the countries selected in the study. The African political leaders in these countries had a personal touch with French leadership. They so became excellent conveyor belts for the penetration of French soft power, which was based on education, French language,

exchange programs, media, and recreational activities. The constructivism theory of international relations accurately captures the manner in which France spread her cultural diplomacy in these selected African states. The African leaders and French presidents were actually agents of implementing cultural diplomacy, while the African selected states were the structure. Social norms were constructed that guide the behaviour of African presidents and African government officers in these selected countries to the extent that public codes of conduct and even ethical codes of conduct in these African countries were actually emulated from those in France. The soft power framework does not effectively capture the spread of French cultural diplomacy, and that is why constructivism is more relevant. For Anglophone Africa, French cultural diplomacy began in the independence era and was accelerated at the turn of the 21st century. South Africa, Nigeria, and Ghana, among other Anglophone African nations, have witnessed vigorous French cultural diplomacy in the first two decades of the 21st century.

Indeed, the change in France's regimes from Francois Mitterrand to Jacques Chirac and subsequent successors of Chirac explain the intensity of French cultural diplomacy in Anglophone Africa. The soft power theory appropriately explains French cultural diplomacy in selected African Anglophone countries. France was cautiously but persistently pushing her cultural policy and agenda so that she does not provoke Britain and the USA, who traditionally were the hegemonic powers in these countries. At any rate, by the turn of the 21st century, these soft power approaches had yielded dividends, and France deliberately and openly used her cultural diplomacy to push for economic investments in these selected African Anglophone countries.

The second objective examined the issues that shaped the evolution of French cultural diplomacy towards Kenya. The evidence adduced in the study shows that French cultural diplomacy began at a very low latitude, but it intensified in the 1970s and 1980s. The French government, represented by the French embassy in Kenya, was the key agent in systematically and consistently pushing for the development of French cultural diplomacy through French language teaching and learning, educational exchange programs, and scholarships for Kenyan students, civil servants, and even the defence force. The Alliance Francaise was the engine that propelled French cultural diplomacy in Kenya in the formative stages.

The involvement of the French presidency of De Gaulle, Georges Pompidou a, Valery Giscard d'Estaing and Francois Mitterrand were extremely in the background. It was not visible and assertive. Unlike in francophone Africa, the French presidents always made regular visits and invited the African presidents to the Elysee palace in Paris. However, Daniel Moi had the privilege of visiting France and having talks with the government of Valery Giscard in 1978.

The visit did not change how France advanced her cultural diplomacy in Kenya. France began her cultural diplomacy by using specific agents, pillars, and instruments. The chapter highlights how France patiently used Alliance Francaise, Kenya French Teachers Association, and the French embassy to lay the foundation of French cultural diplomacy in the country. In this chapter, the soft power theory, as propounded by Nye (1990), was useful in assessing the evolution of French cultural diplomacy in Kenya.

The last objective assessed the strategies of France in advancing her cultural diplomacy towards Kenya, 1995-2020. The chapter discussed the initiatives of French presidents Chirac, Sarkozy, Hollande, and Macron in laying policies that diversified and strengthened French cultural diplomacy towards Kenya. At the same time, the roles of the Kenyan presidency right from Moi, Kibaki, and Uhuru in reciprocating and providing an enabling environment for the growth and development of French cultural diplomacy towards Kenya were highlighted. The chapter used soft power theory and constructivism to bring out France's strategies to pursue her cultural diplomacy. The strategies of education, French language, media, recreation, cuisine, exchange programs, scholarships, cosmetics, and international and local non-governmental organizations were discussed. The chapter also briefly examined how France used the goodwill of her cultural diplomacy to encourage her French Companies to set up businesses in Kenya. Thus soft power gradually transformed into smart power in the first two decades of the 21st century.

5.2.2 Conclusions

Based on the research evidence, the following conclusions could be drawn regarding French cultural diplomacy in Kenya. France has gained a niche in Kenya's cultural and economic spheres. Thus her soft power has translated into smart power, which gradually could somersault France to influence Kenyan politics, economy, and philosophy. France has continued to employ multiple strategies in projecting foreign policy in cultural diplomacy. The design of spreading the French language has been cardinal in winning the Kenyan populace's hearts and minds. The strategy aims to promote the French nation's

positive image and people besides being a sign of the nation's prestige. Therefore, the French language has been used to symbolise nation branding. The French language learning has been targeted mainly at the youthful population within learning institutions, from primary to tertiary levels, aiming to have the youth as informal French cultural ambassadors. Learning of French also penetrated government sectors like the military, where French was also taught in Langata barracks, and La France au Kenya was crucial in promoting the French language.

The French cultural diplomacy trends in Africa have shifted based on the French ever-expanding national and strategic interests. Initially, France focused on strengthening her cultural influence on Francophone countries such as Senegal, Burkina Faso, and Congo, resulting from her long historical experience with these countries, as either French protectorates or French colonies, and later independent African state with a strong French influence. Later, France sought to explore and set foot in Anglophone states such as South Africa, Nigeria, and Kenya, where she has endeavoured to use cultural diplomacy through language and education services to promote greater cooperation. The French government has signed several agreements with the Anglophone states to promote its culture better. This study has explored the foundation of French cultural diplomacy in Kenya since 1963 and its interaction with diplomatic relations in economic and political spheres.

France has long used her language to actualize her interests and objectives. This study revealed that the use of the French language in Kenya is intertwined with exposure to French culture. In Kenya, the French language is widely spoken as compared to other

foreign languages, apart from English. Further, the findings depicted that the French language was incorporated into extra curriculum activities such as drama, poetry, and music. The French government sustains Kenyan learners' interest in French by offering grants and vacations to France to the best actors and actresses in these extra-curriculum activities. The French language promotion has also been achieved by celebrating various French events, an initiative dubbed French day.

France's involvement in offering Kenya education services targeted policy-makers, elite, and technocrats to achieve foreign policy objectives. Providing education services was meant to foster influence, familiarity, and acceptance of the French culture by the Kenyan masses. The French language tutorials in learning institutions depended on their intention, for instance, French for either commercial use or diplomatic use. The French embassy established a Kenya day that was celebrated in France's learning institutions which created a forum for interactions between scholars from Kenya and France to share experiences and promote French as an international language. France has used education services to gain Kenya's political, economic, and cultural advantages.

It was revealed in this study that the provision of education services was equally an essential approach to advancing French cultural diplomacy. This strategy was employed through Franco-Kenyan partnerships. As demonstrated by the findings that the French Embassy, in collaboration with KICD (Kenya Institute of Curriculum Development), played a role in revising the French curriculum, while the Alliance Française has been instrumental in offering in e-service training to French teachers in association with KFTA. Further French research centres like IRD and IFRA have partnered with Kenyan

universities such as Kenyatta University and Maseno University through memoranda and linkages with French universities and scholars in carrying out joint research. These research institutions and the French Embassy have awarded master's and Ph.D. scholarships to Kenyans to study in France as they experience French culture's fullness. Besides establishing a French school in Kilimani, Nairobi, that offers a French education system, it was a crucial strategy for maintaining French values among young citizens living in Kenya. At the same time, providing an avenue for foreign citizens from Francophone countries living in Kenya to enhance French cultural policy by providing role models to Kenyan young people who are keen on embracing the French culture.

France's other cultural diplomacy strategy was the promotion of visual and performing arts, which manifested itself twofold. It involved showcasing French artistic works as the impetus of projecting cultural prestige and superiority and showcasing Kenyan diverse culture as a cultural cooperation strategy. France set out to advance audio-visual and cultural industries to promote her national interests and create mutual understanding between the Kenyan and French people. French culture has, over time, been displayed in venues such as the Kenya cinema, Alliance Française, and the national theatre, where unique French cultures' performances have been exhibited, such as French Dance, puppetry, and street art. This study established that in recognizing cultural diversity, the 'Kenya week' was established in France, capturing Kenyan attires such as the Kangas and Kenya's unique cuisine. Through French audio-visual artistic display, it has been possible to create a French experience or feeling besides acting as a networking joint among Kenyan Francophones.

France's cultural diplomacy was further enhanced by media use to win foreign publics' hearts, even as she endeavoured to portray her nation's positive image. France has used mainstream mass media, including Radio France International, and digital media, involving the embassy's various social media platforms or networks, to communicate to the Kenyan public about upcoming cultural events within the embassy or French ambassadors' residence. The French mass media strategy aimed to continuously familiarize Kenyan French speakers with trends and vocabularies in French and sustain their likeness of French values, lifestyle, and products, besides countering other international broadcasters' influence in Kenya. Formal and informal media channels have offered French cultural engagement with Kenyan citizens at the grassroots level, ultimately encouraging cross-cultural communication and cooperation.

This study established that French cultural diplomacy was active in Kenya long before launching the French embassy in Nairobi. The institution driving this soft power agenda of the French Republic was the Alliance Française, Nairobi. The institute's activities have since spread to other major Kenya towns, including Mombasa and Eldoret. Alliance Française offers internationally accredited diplomas in the French language for non-francophone citizens. The institute liaises with the Campus France office at the embassy to provide various educational opportunities for learners who intend to advance their studies in France territories. The institute houses a modernized technology library and a resource centre, instrumental in disseminating French cultures, values, and ideas. Therefore, Alliance Française enjoys diplomatic status and is mandated to project French foreign policy in Kenya.

This study further established that apart from government involvement in cultural diplomacy, French non-state actors, such as IFRA and IRD, have been instrumental in advancing French cultural diplomacy through their functions, activities, and collaborations. Thus, NGOs created positive influence and proper branding and reputation for the French people.

This study's findings on Franco-Kenyan cooperation revealed that France was the first European country to recognize Kenya as a republic and set up a diplomatic mission. Indeed, France has continued to collaborate with Kenya in various political, economic, and socio-cultural sectors. Bilateral relations between the two states were intensified in 1999 when France adopted Kenya as one of the countries in her priority zone. A further cementing of the ties was realized in 2019, with President Emmanuel Macron visiting Kenya as the first French head of state to have visited Kenya. This was in reaction to major developed countries' heads of state and government visits to Kenya in the preceding years. The closer ties France to Kenya witnessed France supporting the Kenyan budget during the 1970s when the second Kenyan president Moi visited France on his first international trip, an indication of close diplomatic ties. France adopted a non-aligned strategy that made her more relevant to African states during the Cold War. Nairobi's strategic position in eastern Africa resulted in France setting up a diplomatic mission that serves Somalia and Africa's horn.

On the economic front, France was instrumental in the democratization of Kenya during the second liberation struggle while securing her national interests and those of French enterprises. This study's findings revealed France's vital economic engagements in trade

and investment, securing French firms' interests, giving loans and grants in the form of aid, and, more recently, engaging in public-private partnerships. However, as findings indicate, France had a monopoly over Kenya in her bilateral economic interactions. The study further revealed that although France had heavily invested in cultural diplomacy in the country, it was difficult to link its direct benefits to French economic interests. Since 1999, Kenya has signed major bilateral agreements with France, both at state-to-state and ministerial levels. Thus, in the international fora, it was revealed that Kenya and France had continued to collaborate, for instance, at the UNESCO and the Paris declaration on climate change.

The setting up of the cultural department at the French embassy in Nairobi revealed the importance attached to cultural diplomacy by France. The department has, over time, liaised with French institutes, government ministries and departments, and NGOs to realize two general objectives: projecting French culture to Kenya and promoting Kenyan cultural diversity. This study revealed France's introduction of a social development fund to offer financial assistance to the locals' socio-cultural projects in achieving social-cultural goals. French cultural cooperation operated under the framework of the country's constitutional belief of humanity, grounded on liberty, fraternity, and equality, to ensure that the French language and culture were effectively entrenched in Kenya. France thus introduced a priority solidarity fund to spread the French language in the country.

Additionally, Franco-Kenyan economic cooperation enhanced the operation of French companies in Kenya. Most French companies set up regional headquarters or had a Franchise in Kenya, an indication that the embassy secured their commercial interests.

Further evidence indicates that some of the French companies engaged in French diplomatic activities through their corporate social responsibility, thus helping France realize her foreign policy objective of cultural diplomacy. The study further established that French cultural diplomacy enhanced French businesses in Kenya.

Since Kenya's inclusion in France's priority zone, she has enjoyed more loans, grants, and direct investment by the French government and companies. On the other hand, France has secured her economic interests by creating Business France-an agency that promotes French businesses and companies.

The emergence of the digital world has brought stiff competition to French cultural diplomacy. This is because nations far away use the platform to advance cultural diplomacy with less cost and get desired feedback, as opposed to France, which has invested resources through her embassy and cultural institutes to advance cultural diplomacy.

Hence, this study continues to argue that, within the Franco-Kenyan bilateral relations, only France is intensely interested in popularizing her language and culture. Kenya seems to be at ease as a beneficiary instead of exploiting this cultural diplomacy to promote her Kenyan culture in France.

The soft power theory advanced by Joseph Nye and the constructivism theories were very relevant for this study. This is because France initially used educational activities, that is, the promotion of the French language, to entrench herself in Kenya in the last half of the 20th century. However, by the beginning of the 21st century, France became very vibrant

in pursuing economic interests and even interfering in the electoral processes in Kenya; evidence has accumulated to suggest that cultural diplomacy had paid off its dividends, and now France is purposively stretching out her economic interests. The constructivism theory was also handy in this study because, throughout the engagement of French cultural diplomacy, she wanted to use communication to create a new world view of France in Kenya socially.

5.3 Recommendation

The art of cultural diplomacy has grown to be an essential element in the diplomatic practices of states. In the absence of war and inter-state conflicts, together with the rapidly shrinking strategy of coercive diplomacy, cultural diplomacy remains an essential avenue of state-to-state engagement in pursuit of their national interests, projection of their prestige, and development of their positive image. In light of this, this study recommends the following;

- i. France should revive and intensify her cultural engagement with Kenya rather than concentrate on economic diplomacy since cultural diplomacy is a sustainable foreign policy that automatically enhances economic and political interests.
- ii. France to increase programs where many Kenyans experience French culture and world view in France
- iii. Kenya to exploit the goodwill of France's cultural diplomacy and intensify Kenya's cultural diplomacy towards France and thereby creating jobs for Kenyans in France

- iv. France and Kenya need to examine the hindrances to the effective use of their cultural diplomacy.

5.4 Areas of Further Research

This study provides the following to be areas that may be explored for further research;

- i. French cultural Diplomacy towards Uganda,1962-2021
- ii. Trends of French Cultural Diplomacy towards Rwanda,1994-2020
- iii. French Cultural Diplomacy towards Tanzania, 1961-2021.

Kenyan Foreign Policy during the Kenyatta and Moi administration: A role Theory analysis Tony Oweke university EIT of Leiden 2019 MA thesis.

France supported Kenya's annual budget, a relationship that Daniel Moi established while he was the Vice president. Moi was in good diplomatic terms with former French presidents Pompidou Giscard D'Estaing and François Mitterrand. France was seen as a non-aligned power and thus a natural ally to third-world countries.

It is believed that a people learn French, they will develop a good natural affinity for the country. This will benefit France in terms of goodwill.

Principally Kenyatta was driven by the need to ensure state survival, whereby foreign investment and security were prerequisites. His foreign policy was called quiet diplomacy. This was diplomacy that referred to the cautious and prudent approach to sub-regional, regional and international affairs. He sought to ensure amicable relations within the sub-

region, neutrality in the face of a polarized African community of states, and non-alignment within the ideological struggle of the cold war (Page 32).

Moi played an active role in international affairs. He defined and executed policy-Moi centralized power around the presidency at the expense of other organs of government. Moi departed from the non-alignment policy and offered US military bases in Kenya (page 55).

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: QUESTIONNAIRE

My name is Evans Onyango affiliated with Kenyatta University. I am carrying out research on French cultural diplomacy in Kenya, funded by AFKM Foundation. Kindly, request you to fill in this questionnaire. The information you will provide will be used strictly for academic purposes, and your participation in this study is voluntary.

Questionnaire

SECTION A: Demographics *(kindly tick appropriately)*

1. Kindly indicate your gender
Male Female
2. Which age bracket do you belong to?
18-24 yrs
25-31 yrs
32-38 yrs
39-45 yrs
45 and Above
3. Kindly indicate your highest academic qualification
Ph.D.....
Masters
Degree
Diploma
Certificate
4. How long have you interacted with the French language and culture?
3-7 yrs
8-12 yrs
13-17 yrs
18 yrs and Above

SECTION B:

PART A: STRAGIES FRANCE EMPLOYED IN KENYA TO ADVANCE HER CULTRURAL DIPLOMACY

1. In which avenues did you first experience the French language and culture?
2. Explain briefly how the French language and culture are promoted in the sector of education.
3. Describe briefly the importance of Alliance Francaise and the French Cultural Centre in promoting French cultural interaction briefly.
4. Identify and explain briefly French organizations that facilitate French-Kenyan social interaction.
5. Explain measures that you have adopted to sustain your interaction with the French language and culture?
6. In your opinion, what have been the benefits of comprehending the French language and culture?
7. Do you enjoy experiencing French culture? Briefly explain your reasons
8. Why do you think efforts of teaching and learning French have intensified?
9. Which are the institutions that the French government often partners with to promote French Language and Culture?
10. In your opinion, what kind of collaboration do you think exists that promotes French culture in Kenya?

PART B: AVENUES OF FRANCE-KENYAN BILATERAL CORPORATION IN PROMOTION OF CULTURAL DIPLOMACY

1. Identify and explain the benefits of any French companies that operate in Kenya.
2. Briefly explain your understanding of trade relations between France and Kenya.
3. Which are the areas that France has offered development assistance to Kenya?
4. Briefly explain areas of scientific and technical cooperation between France and Kenya.
5. How does France ensure that Kenyans get to interact with her culture?
6. Explain briefly how France assists in promoting Kenyan culture.

SECTION C: CHALLENGES EXPERIENCED BY FRANCE AND KENYA IN THEIR ATTEMPT TO USE CULTURAL DIPLOMACY

1. Briefly explain the threats posed by French culture towards Kenyan masses
2. In your opinion, what are the difficulties that France faces in promoting her language and culture?
3. In your understanding, what is the state of Kenyan cultural diplomacy?
4. What do you think hinders Kenya from advancing her cultural diplomacy?

APPENDIX 2: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR KEY INFORMANTS

1. What are the approaches that France has employed in spreading her language and culture?
2. Explain the role of French institutions and organizations in promoting her culture.
3. What are the areas of cultural cooperation between France and Kenya?
4. How does France guarantee the cultural sovereignty of the Kenyan people as she advances her culture?
5. Briefly explain the incorporation of French culture and language in the Kenyan education sector.
6. Explain areas of Franco-Kenyan economic cooperation.
7. What are the challenges France experiences in promoting her culture.
8. What are the challenges Kenya faces in advancing her cultural diplomacy?

**APPENDIX 3: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE FOR SELECTED
BENEFICIARIES OF FRENCH EDUCATIONAL SCHOLARSHIPS**

1. How has France used language and education in promoting its culture?
2. What is the role of media in promoting French culture?

**APPENDIX 4: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE FOR SELECTED
OFFICERS IN MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND FRENCH EMBASSY
CULTURAL AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT**

1. How has the French regime change impacted on France cultural diplomacy towards Kenya

2. What do you consider as the key driver and strategy for French cultural diplomacy in Kenya?

APPENDIX 5: LIST OF KEY INFORMANTS

No.	Name	Office of Work
1.	Monsieur Jaque	French Embassy-Head, Cultural Affairs
2.	Maurice Okoth	MFA- Deputy Director, Cultural Affairs, Diplomacy Department
3	Lilian Chebore	French Teacher, Kabarak High School
4	Isaac Omollo	French Teacher, Ng'iya Girls High School
5	Martini Okio	Student, Alliance Francaise
6	Joseph Riungu	Student, Alliance Francaise
7	Naomi Njoki	Student, Alliance Francaise
8	Margaret Wangare	MSCH- Principal Officer, Culture and Heritage Department
9.	Madam Ann	Head of Cultural Affairs, Alliance Francaise- Cultural Institute
10	Ann Marie	Student, Alliance Francaise
11	James Muye	Assistant Librarian
12	Dr. Kennedy Gitu	Lecturer, Kenyatta University
13	Dr. Gordon Omenya	Lecturer, Kenyatta University

APPENDIX 6: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION LETTERS



KENYATTA UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL

E-mail: kubps@yahoo.com
dean-graduate@ku.ac.ke
Website: www.ku.ac.ke

P.O. Box 43844, 00100
NAIROBI, KENYA
Tel. 810901 Ext. 57530

Internal Memo

FROM: Dean, Graduate School **DATE:** 8th January, 2018
TO: Mr. Onyango E. Odhiambo
C/o Department of Diplomacy & International Relation
Kenya University **REF:** C82/31330/15

SUBJECT: APPROVAL OF RESEARCH PROPOSAL


We acknowledge the receipt of your revised Research Proposal entitled "Trends in French Cultural Diplomacy to Kenya, 1863-2015" as per recommendations raised by the Graduate School Board of 31st January, 2018.

You may now proceed with your Data collection, subject to clearance with the Director General, National Commission for Science, Technology & Innovation.

As you embark on your data collection, please note that you will be required to submit to Graduate School completed supervision Tracking Forms per semester. The form has been developed to replace the progress Report Forms. The Supervision Tracking Forms are available at the University's Website under Graduate School webpage downloads.

By copy of this letter, the Registrar (Academic) is hereby requested to grant you substantive registration for your Ph.D. studies.

Thank you.


ANNBELL MWANIKI
FOR: DEAN, GRADUATE SCHOOL

c.c. Registrar (Academic) Att; Mr. Likam
Chairman, Department of Diplomacy & International Relation

Supervisor

1. Dr. Peter Wafula
C/o Dept of History, Arc. & Political Studies
Kenya University
2. Dr. Susan Mwangi
C/o Dept of History, Arc. & Political Studies
Kenya University

AM/cao

Committed to Creativity, Excellence & Self-Reliance



KENYATTA UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL

E-mail: dean-graduate@ku.ac.ke

Website: www.ku.ac.ke

OUR REF: C82/31330/15

P.O. Box 43844, 00100
NAIROBI, KENYA
Tel. 8710901 Ext. 57530

Date: 8th February, 2018

The Director General,
National Commission for Science, Technology & Innovation
P.O. Box 30623-00100,
NAIROBI

Dear Sir/Madam,

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION FOR MR. ONYANGO E. ODHIAMBO REG. NO. C82/31330/15

I write to introduce Mr. **Odhiambo** who is a Postgraduate Student of this University. He is registered for Ph.D. Degree programme in the Department of Diplomacy & International Relation in the School of Security, Peace & International Studies.

Mr. Odhiambo intends to conduct research for Ph.D. Thesis entitled, entitled "Trends in French Cultural Diplomacy to Kenya, 1863-2015"

Any assistance given will be highly appreciated.

Yours faithfully,

MRS. LUCY N. MBAABU
FOR: DEAN, GRADUATE SCHOOL

AM/cao

Committed to Creativity, Excellence & Self-Reliance

**THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:
MR. ONYANGO EVANS ODHIAMBO
of KENYATTA UNIVERSITY, 412-900
KIAMBU,has been permitted to conduct
research in Nairobi County**

**Permit No : NACOSTI/P/18/6428/21220
Date Of Issue : 14th February,2018
Fee Received :Ksh 2000**

**on the topic: TRENDS IN FRENCH
CULTURAL DIPLOMACY TO KENYA 1963
TO 2015**

**for the period ending:
14th February,2019**



J.P. Kalewa

**Director General
National Commission for Science,
Technology & Innovation**

**Applicant's
Signature**

CONDITIONS

1. The License is valid for the proposed research, research site specified period.
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REPUBLIC OF KENYA



**National Commission for Science,
Technology and Innovation**

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Serial No.A 17416

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